

3. Nicholas Dodd Beatson-Bell, Esq., C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor of Bengal.
4. Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Hardinge Elliott, Indian Army, Commissioner of the Irrawaddy Division, Burma.
5. Major-General Robert Charles Ochiltree Stuart, Royal Artillery, Director-General of Ordnance in India.
6. Herbert John Maynard, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Commissioner of the Lahore Division, Punjab, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations.
7. Reginald Pemberton Russell, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India in the Public Works Department, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations.
8. James Bennett Brunyate, Esq., C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, Secretary to the Government of India in the Finance Department, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations.
9. Lieutenant-Colonel Armine Brereton Dew, C.I.E., Indian Army, Indian Political Department, Political Agent, Kalat, Baluchistan.
10. William Malcolm Hailey, Esq., C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, Chief Commissioner of Delhi.
11. Hugh Trowbridge Keeling, Esq., A.M.I.C.E., Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, and a Member of the Delhi Imperial Committee.
12. Alfred Hamilton Grant, Esq., C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign and Political Department.

THE MOST EMINENT ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE

The King has been graciously pleased to make the following promotions and appointments to the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire.

TO BE G.C.I.E.

1. Sir Charles Stuart Bayley, K.C.S.I., I.S.O., Indian Civil Service, Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa.
2. Maharaja Sir Rameshwara Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., of Darbhanga, an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

TO BE K.C.I.E.

1. Prabhashankar D. Pattani, Esq., C.I.E., Temporary Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay.
2. Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nundy, of Kasimbazar, Zemindar, Murshidabad, Bengal, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations.

3. Lieutenant-Colonel John Ramsay, C.S.I., C.I.E., Indian Political Department, Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner in Baluchistan.
4. William Maxwell, Esq., C.I.E., M.V.O., Indian Civil Service, Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations.
5. Faridoonji Jamshedji, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., Assistant Minister, Political Department, to the Government of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.
6. Mokshagundam Visvesvaraya, Esq., C.I.E., Dewan of Mysore.
7. His Highness Maharaja Bir Singh Deo Bahadur, Chief of Samthar, Bundelkhand, Central India.
8. John Stuart Donald, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., Indian Political Department, Resident in Waziristan, North-West Frontier Province.
9. Lieutenant-Colonel Percy Molesworth Sykes, C.M.G., C.I.E., Indian Political Department, Consul-General, Kashgar.

TO BE C.I.E.

1. Cecil Bernard Cotterell, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Madras.
2. Alfred Wyndham Lushington, Esq., Imperial Forest Service, Conservator of Forests, Northern Circle, Madras.
3. Sardar Sahib Suleman Haji Casim Mitha, Merchant and Justice of the Peace, Bombay.
4. George Prideaux Millet, Esq., Indian Forest Service, Senior Conservator of Forests, Bombay Presidency.
5. Babu Ram Charan Mitra, Vakil of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William, Bengal, and Law Officer of Government.
6. Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Thomas Grace, V.D., head of the firm of Messrs. Smith, Stainstreet and Co., Commandant, 1st Battalion, Calcutta Volunteer Rifles, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor of Bengal for making Laws and Regulations.
7. Lieutenant-Colonel Travers Dennys, Indian Army, Inspector-General of Police, Punjab.
8. Selwyn Howe Fremantle, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Collector and Magistrate of Allahabad, United Provinces.
9. Dr. Zia-ud-din Ahmed, M.A., D.Sc., Professor in the Mahommedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, United Provinces.
10. Abdul Karim Abdul Shakur, Jamal, Esq., merchant in Rangoon, Burma.
11. Lieutenant-Colonel Cecil Charles Stewart Barry, Indian Medical Service, Medical Superintendent, General Hospital, Rangoon, Burma.
12. John Frederick Gruning, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Magistrate and Collector, Shahabad, Bihar, and Orissa.

13. Brigadier-General Benjamin Holloway, Indian Army, Secretary to the Government of India in the Army Department, and an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations.
14. Captain Cyril Mosley Wagstaff, Royal Engineers, General Staff Officer, 2nd Grade, Army Headquarters, at present on Field Service.
15. Arthur Robert Anderson, Esq., Member, Railway Board.
16. Colonel Charles Henry Cowie, Royal Engineers, Agent, North-Western State Railway.
17. Kunwar Maharaj Singh, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Provincial Service, Senior Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, Education Department
18. David Petrie, Esq., M.A., Indian Police, Superintendent of Police, Punjab.
19. Godfrey Charles Denham, Esq., Indian Police, Superintendent of Police, Bengal.
20. Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Windham, Indian Army, Indian Political Department, Resident, Western Rajputana States.
21. Herbert George Chick, Esq., Commercial Adviser to the Resident in the Persian Gulf, at present on deputation as Supervisor of the Ottoman Bank.
22. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Henry Dudley Ryder, D.S.O., Royal Engineers, Deputy Superintendent of Survey of India, and lately in charge Turco-Persian Frontier Commission, Survey Detachment.
23. Geoffrey Fitzhervey de Montmorency, Esq., Indian Civil Service, Personal Assistant to the Chief Commissioner, Delhi.
24. Raja Partab Singh, Chief of Ali Rajpur, Bhopawar, Central India.

KNIGHTHOODS

The King has been graciously pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood upon—

1. Mr. Justice William Rock Ayling, Indian Civil Service, a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature, Fort St. George, Madras.
2. Ruthven Grey Monteath, Esq., senior resident partner, Messrs. Mackinnon, Mackenzie and Co., Calcutta, and lately an Additional Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations.
3. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, C.S.I., C.I.E., D.L., Pleader, High Court of Judicature at Fort William, Bengal.
4. Mr. Justice John George Woodroffe, Barrister-at-Law, a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William, Bengal.
5. Henry Ledgard, Esq., partner in the firm of Cooper, Allen and Co., Cawnpore, President of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, and a Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, for making Laws and Regulations.
6. Rabindranath Tagore, Esq., of Bolpur, Bengal.

7. Robert Richard Gales, Esq., A.M.I.C.E., F.C.H., Indian Public Works Department, Engineer-in-Chief, Hardinge Bridge, Sara, Bengal.
8. Haji Muhammad Yusuf, a prominent Musalman gentleman of Bombay.

IMPERIAL SERVICE ORDER

The King has been graciously pleased to make the following appointments to the Imperial Service Order :

(a) Office of the Secretary of State for India

1. Charles Edward James Twisaday, Esq.
2. Ernest Charles Winchester, Esq.

(b) Civil Services in India

1. Sir George Edward Knox, Kt., Indian Civil Service, a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature, North-Western Provinces.
2. Rai Chuni Lal Basu Bahadur, M.B., F.C.S., 1st Assistant Chemical Examiner of Government, Teacher of Physics and Chemistry, Campbell Medical School, and Fellow of the Calcutta University.
3. Harrington George Bulkley, Esq., Assistant Collector of Salt Revenue, Thana, Bombay Presidency.
4. Rai Bahadur Lala Gauri Shankar, Provincial Service, Extra Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab.
5. Frank Dacomb Bird, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, v.d., Chief Presidency Magistrate, Madras.
6. Maung Paw Tun, K.S.M., Provincial Civil Service, Judge, Sub-Divisional Courts of Insein and Taikgyi, Burma.
7. Richard Joshua Keys, Esq., Indian Telegraph Department, Deputy Superintendent, Traffic, Simla.
8. Bomonji Nowroji Khambatta, Esq., Head Clerk, Office of Assistant Director of Supplies and Transport, 6th (Poona) Division.
9. James Henry Taylor, Esq., Provincial Civil Service, Deputy Commissioner of Angul, Bihar and Orissa.
10. Khan Bahadur Muhammad Abdul Karim Khan, Provincial Service, Extra Assistant Commissioner, District Judge, Hazara, North-West Frontier Province.
11. Rai Sahib Lala Bhag Mal, Personal Indian Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner in Baluchistan.

IMPERIAL SERVICE MEDAL

The King has been graciously pleased to make the following awards of the Imperial Service Medal :

1. Punjab Singh, son of Sahel Singh, late Jemadar-Chaprasi to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal.
2. Udda Ram, son of Ram Singh, Brahman, Head Mistri, Bhimgoda *bandhs*, Ganges Canal, Public Works Department, Irrigation Branch, United Provinces.

3. Koilash Chunder Kormakar, son of Lakshmi Narayan Kormakar, late Head Turner Mistri, General Workshop, Calcutta Mint.
4. Krishnaji, son of Isna Kumbi, late Jemadar-Chaprasai of the Commissioner's Office, Nagpur, Central Provinces.
5. Mangloo, son of Atma Ram, Jemadar, Revenue and Agriculture Department.

KAISAR-I-HIND GOLD MEDAL

The King has been graciously pleased to make the following awards of the "Kaisar-i-Hind Medal for Public Services in India" of the First Class.

1. The Lady Willingdon, wife of the Governor of Bombay.
2. Lady Carlyle, wife of Sir R. W. Carlyle, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General.
3. Lady Lukis, wife of Surgeon-General Sir C. P. Lukis, K.C.S.I., Director-General, Indian Medical Service.
4. Reverend Mother St. Lucie, Provincial of the Congregation of Jesus and Mary, The Convent, Agra, United Provinces.
5. Edward Belcham Francis, Esq., India Civil Service (retired).
6. Rai Bahadur Gopal Das, Bhandari, Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Amritsar, Punjab.
7. Dr Thomas Franklin Pedley, M.D., V.D., Medical Practitioner, Rangoon, Burma, and Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel in the Rangoon Port Defence Volunteers.
8. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Thornhill Bell, Royal Artillery, Superintendent, Gun Carriage Factory, Jubbulpore.
9. Khan Bahadur Nawab Arbab Muhammad Hussain Khan of Landai Yarghajo, Honorary Magistrate, North-West Frontier Province.
10. Edward Clark Carter, Esq., General Secretary, Young Men's Christian Association, National Council, India and Ceylon.
11. Sardar Parashram Krishnarav Bivalkar, of Ahibag, Kolaba District, Bombay.
12. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN

BY E. CHARLES VIVIAN

AT the present time all cases of medical stores and provisions that go out to France or to the military hospitals in England, from the headquarters of the British Red Cross Society for the use of wounded troops, are marked with the Red Cross and with the Star of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. The two societies are co-ordinated, and work together for the relief of wounded British, Indian, and Colonial troops—that is, as far as the actual area of war and its immediate vicinity are concerned. But it is not generally realized in England that the Order of St. John alone has done for India what the British Red Cross Society, the Order of St. John, and various contributory societies, have done for Britain and the men actually in the area of war.

Further, it is worthy of note that the Order of St. John has not confined its work in India solely to matters military. At the time of the bomb outrage which so nearly robbed India of a Viceroy the first two persons to reach the spot with a view to rendering assistance were members of the Order of St. John, and were qualified in accordance with the rules of the Order to render first aid. So general is the work of the Order throughout India, however, and so thorough is its organization of first-aid work, that this incident is not in any degree abnormal. Wherever one

may choose to go throughout the great Dependency, one may find members of the Order which works unostentatiously, yet not less efficiently, with a view to the prevention of avoidable suffering.

Before dealing with the work of the Order in connection with the present war, and more especially with the Indian troops, it would be well to survey the past history of what is, in reality, the root and foundation of all work on behalf of the sick and wounded in war. It is a proud claim, and one which the Order of St. John can amply support, that the members of the Order were the original founders of what is to-day known under the heading of Red Cross Work.

The Order dates back to the year 1050, when certain Italian merchants in Jerusalem obtained permission from the Caliph Billah to erect a hospital in the Holy City, in order to minister to the needs of pilgrims. The pilgrims advertised their benefactors, with the result that a steady stream of gifts flowed in for the maintenance of this charitable work, and thus the usefulness of the hospital was greatly increased.

The opening of the Crusades, and especially the entry into Jerusalem of Godfrey de Bouillon at the head of the first Crusaders, brought about a definite change in the status of the Order, for the gratitude of the Crusaders led them to endow the hospital with territories in various parts of Europe, and Pope Pascal II., to mark his approval of the ministrations of the hospital, gave consent for the formation of a definite "Order," which became known throughout Europe, and adopted the eight-pointed cross, symbolical of the eight beatitudes, as its device. The Order was a wealthy community, but its members were sworn to poverty and chastity as well as obedience. The eight-pointed white cross embroidered on their black robes gave them general recognition, and until the year 1118, under Peter Gerard, they pursued their mission of charity. In that year, however, Gerard died, and his successor,

Raymond du Puy, a man of warlike and ambitious character, proposed, and gained the sanction of the Pope, that the Order should be converted to a military community. In rivalry to this new form which the Order had assumed arose the even more famed Order of the Knights Templars, a body which came into existence for military purposes rather than for the alleviation of suffering.

The rivalry of the two Orders, and the part that they played in the Crusades, are matters of history. With the conclusion of the Crusades, in the time of Saladin, the remnants of the Order of St. John which escaped from the Holy Land found temporary refuge in Cyprus, and there, casting about for a permanent asylum, decided to occupy the pirate-infested island of Rhodes. In August of the year 1310 the flag of the Order was raised above the walls of the island citadel, whence the members harried the pirates and corsairs who had long made Rhodes their headquarters.

Meanwhile the increase in wealth and numerical strength of the Order rendered it necessary that changes in the management should be accomplished. Auvergne, Aragon, England, France, Germany, Italy, and Provence were constituted "Langues," and, later, Spain was constituted a separate "Langue," thus making of the whole Order eight divisions which covered the territories in which its activities were displayed. The division was found necessary for the maintenance of proper control. The great accession of prosperity and power accentuated the hostility already existing between the Knights of St. John and the Knights Templars. The former had a reputation for humanity; the latter for pride and cruelty; and thus the sympathies of the then Christian world rather inclined to the side of the Order of St. John. The actual warfare between the two Orders led at one period almost to the extermination of the Templars; and when the Knights of St. John had rendered their position secure, they turned again to their charitable work, while such as were left of the

Templars resumed the governance of their European property.

The end of the Templars is well known. How they came to be regarded as a danger, and how Philip the Fair of France combined with Pope Clement V. in the extermination of the Order, are matters of history, and the martyrdom of Jacques de Molay, the last Grand Master of the Order, forms one of the most touching chapters in the story of a troubled time. The record of both King and Pope was stained in this business of extirpation; but the Pope, realizing that the wealth of the Templars had been originally acquired for religious purposes, compounded with his conscience by handing over the greater part of that wealth to the Order of St. John rather than allow it to pass to secular hands.

Up to the year 1481 the Order gained in power. Its members were regarded as the champions of Christianity, and the growing Mussulman power of the East regarded them as their principal opponents. Muhammad II. determined to annihilate the central authority of the Order by conquering Rhodes, and the heroic and successful defence of the island by the Knights of the Order under Peter d'Aubisson ranks as one of the great military achievements of medieval times. Forty years of peace followed the termination of the siege, and then, in June 1522, a Turkish fleet again appeared with a view to besieging Rhodes, for Suliman "the Magnificent" had determined to accomplish that in which his predecessor Muhammad had failed.

The siege of Suliman lasted until April of 1523, when L'Isle Adam, the then head of the Order, capitulated and quitted Rhodes, treachery on the part of his subordinates being responsible for the success of the siege equally with the overwhelming numerical superiority of his enemies. There is no greater blot on Christian Europe of the sixteenth century than the way in which the defenders of Rhodes were left unsupported against Islam. "There has been nothing so well lost in the world as Rhodes," was the

belated tribute accorded to the Knights of the Order by Charles V. of Spain and Germany.

Although attempts were made to reconquer the island, the Order failed in gaining a footing there, and in 1530 a headquarters was appointed to the Grand Master in the islands of Malta and Gozo, where thirty-five years were allowed for the fortification of this new sanctuary before the infidel again made attack. Then, in the summer of 1565, the Knights of Malta made their memorable defence against the Turks, a defence which cost the lives of all but 600 out of a garrison of 9,000. The heroism of the defenders won the commendation of all Europe at the termination of the siege, and material benefits were showered on the Order. So highly did La Valette, the Grand Master, rate himself, that he declined the Cardinal's hat offered him as a mark of special favour by the Pope. He considered his position above that of a Cardinal—and this with some justice.

Peaceful occupation of the island continued until the French Revolution swept away so many landmarks, and, having assisted Louis XVI. with a gift of 500,000 francs to help him in the flight which ended at Varennes, the Order incurred the enmity of the French Directory. In 1792 it was enacted that the Order should cease to exist in France, and six years later Malta was declared annexed to France.

The medieval power of the Order had by this time departed ; there was no L'Isle Adam as Grand Master, and the day after the arrival of the French fleet before the island, under Bonaparte, the Order capitulated, yielding up the city and forts with scarcely a blow struck in their defence. Then Russia and Britain, as enemies of France, espoused the cause of the Order, and Nelson won back the island of Malta. It has remained under British rule from his time onward, for the Knights of the Order did not resume their occupation when the French had been driven out. The beginning of the nineteenth century found the Order being

gradually recognized again by the various European Powers, but modern civilization has prevented its ever again attaining to the political significance and power of medieval times.

So far as England is concerned, the foundation of the Order of St. John dates back to the year 1100, when certain members came to this country, and Jourdain de Brisset, a Norman Baron, built the magnificent priory of Clerkenwell and bestowed it on the Hospitallers, as they were called. In 1166 the sisterhood of Buckland, in Somerset, was formed, and in this sisterhood was constituted the only body of women of which the history of the Order makes mention. It lasted till 1539, by which time the wealth acquired by the sisterhood had so far increased as to lead to allegations of scandalous doings, and to arouse the cupidity of the nobles of the period. The deed of surrender, by which the sisterhood was broken up, still exists in the Office of Records, signed on behalf of the sisterhood by one John de Tregonwell.

There is little in the history of the English branch of the Order to call for comment—peaceful growth gives little scope for recital. But there may be noted the rebellion under Wat Tyler, in which the rebels sacked and burned the priory of Clerkenwell, in spite of a gallant defence made by the prior and his brethren in residence—peaceful men, these, unable to cope with the mob that assailed them. When the pillage and seven days of burning were over, there remained of the magnificent priory nothing but the gate, which, as “St. John’s Gate,” still stands, a relic of medieval times and doings in the present commercial heart of London.

The destruction of the priory, however, did not involve that of the Order, which flourished in England up the time of Henry VIII., who in the earlier days of his reign sent help to the Knights of the Order on their occupation of Malta and Tripoli. Later, he sought to transfer the English Langue from the control of the Pope in order that

he himself might become its head, and, this attempt failing, the Knights were driven out from England.

They came back in the time of Mary to enjoy a brief prosperity; for Elizabeth, following the precedent of her father, reannexed the properties of the English Langue to the Crown. She was content with the property, and left the Knights to follow their own devices either in or out of the country, as they chose.

Few elected to stay. Penniless, they went to the headquarters of the Order at Malta, and the remnant in England, divested of their wealth, had little or no political significance. It was not until the annexation of Malta by the British that more than a mere friendliness was re-established between the Order and England, though in the time of Charles II. it is recorded that the White Cross of the Order saluted the English flag in the Mediterranean. With the fall of Napoleon and the restoration of the French monarchy, the French Langue was re-established, and in 1826 the English Langue was revived, articles of convention being signed on June 12, 1826. The charter of the Order was formally revived, and with new aims, different from the political ambitions of the Middle Ages, the Order set out on its modern career—a career of charity.

In modern times the chief growths for which the Order has been responsible are the Eastern War Sick and Wounded Relief Fund, the National Society for Aid to the Sick and Wounded in War (now merged into the British Red Cross Society) and the St. John Ambulance Brigade. This last, contrary to general impressions on the subject, was originally formed at Woolwich as an auxiliary formation to the Army Hospital Corps, and its members were trained with a view to rendering aid to the military authorities in case of need. But in the period of peace which followed the establishment of the Brigade, it was decided to train classes of men throughout the country that they might be available for the ordinary accidents of

industrial life, and so well has this scheme succeeded that there is not an industrial town in England at the present time without its corps of stretcher-bearers, fully trained in first-aid work, and capable in case of accident of rendering skilled assistance pending the arrival of a surgeon. This movement of training men in first aid spread from Britain to the Colonies. It was especially well adopted in India, where the St. John Ambulance certificate is largely held throughout the Dependency, and in India the Order has taken full control of the work that in England is divided between the Territorial Associations, the British Red Cross Society, and the Order of St. John itself.

Now, in this present war, the Order of St. John has undertaken the whole of the collection and transport of medical stores and accessories provided by the civilian population of India, just as the British Red Cross Society has undertaken that work in Britain. Further, the Order has supplied over 5,000 *fully trained* orderlies for service in home military hospitals, thus setting free for service with the Expeditionary Force an equivalent number of Regular R.A.M.C. men. Under the rules governing the constitution of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, these men had been so trained that they were able to take up their duties with no training on the part of the military authorities, and they justified a remark of a British General, who said, on a parade of the Brigade: "We could not go to war without them."

In addition to this, the Naval Auxiliary Sick Berth Reserve has been provided with staff by the Brigade, which supplied nearly 1,700 trained men for the work; 500 men of the Brigade have gone as medical orderlies with the Naval Expeditionary Force; 700 men have gone direct from the Brigade to the R.A.M.C., in addition to those who have enlisted on their own accounts, and another 500, or thereabouts, have been sent to private and Red Cross hospitals in France. The Brockenhurst Indian hospital was raised and partly staffed by the Order—600 fully

equipped beds—and another 500-bed hospital has been established by the Order for use in France.

There is a flavour of other times about the headquarters of the Order at St. John's Gate in Clerkenwell, where a busy staff controls the press of work involved by this present war. Thence are sent out ambulance drivers, nurses, brigade orderlies, stores and provisions—all that the Army asks of this Order of charity. The quaint old building, rich in ancient oak and in memories that go back to the twelfth century, conscious of the Royal patronage under which its workers move—there is a portrait of the last Edward of England in the Council Chamber, and Queen Mary is head of the English Langue to-day—seems out of place within sound of the clanging of tram-bells and the rattle of electric trains on the underground railway. Here, amid the hurry and hard competition of wholesale businesses, stands a little bit of Norman architecture, and here too is preserved the spirit of the Italian merchants who, nearly nine hundred years ago, set up in the Holy City a hospital, in which they might minister to humanity, with no thought of reward beyond the knowledge of a good work well done.

THE BALKAN STATES AND THE FEDERAL PRINCIPLE

By A. SCHIOPOFF

De l'Académie des Sciences de Bulgarie

I

A BALKAN Confederation is the idea which inspires Dr. Platon E. Drakoules in his excellent article on "Peace and Brotherhood among the Balkan Peoples." Many truths are stated and discussed in this article, published in the February issue of the *Asiatic Review*, but I wish to add some important information, and examine Dr. Drakoules' thoughts and reasoning.

A Balkan Confederation, on condition that the nationalities preserve their ethnical frontiers, has for years past been the guiding principle of the greater part of the Bulgarian educated classes. This question has already in Bulgaria a history of its own. In 1867 a Congress of thirty-five notable Bulgarians, representing various districts in Bulgaria, Thrace, and Macedonia, met in Bucharest. After long discussion the Congress on April 5 the same year drew up a protocol in which the decision was taken that the Bulgarian nation gave its support to a South Slav Confederation, provided the independence and ethnical frontiers of the Serbian and Bulgarian nations were secured. This protocol, signed by all the representatives, was conveyed by a special deputation to Belgrade, where Prince Michail and Minister Garashanin approved in full

both the ideas and the protocol. A letter dated May 22, 1867, approving the protocol, is still preserved in Bulgaria.*

The same principle has been set forth in the activity of the present Bulgarian political parties, four of which—the Agricultural, the Narrow and the Broad Socialist, and the Radical—proclaim as their fundamental principle a peaceful understanding among the Balkan nations and the realization of a Confederation binding them together. The other four parties—the Nationalists, the Progressives, the Democrats, and the various fractions of the Liberal party—find it untimely and impossible to put into operation the principle of confederation; but to judge from their political declaration, all alike are well inclined towards preparing for its formation.

This unifying principle of the Bulgarian political parties has been expressed on various occasions, and, in fact, in the relations between Bulgaria and Serbia, as well as between Bulgaria and Greece. For instance, in 1904, when the Liberal Cabinets of General Petroff—Petkoff—Ghenadieff concluded a secret political and public Customs Union between Serbia and Bulgaria, these were initial steps towards a confederative organization among the Balkan nations. In 1909-1910, when the Democratic Cabinet, with Malinoff, was in power, a *rapprochement* was brought about between Athens and Sofia, between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Bulgarian Exarchate, which produced a clearer atmosphere among the various nationalities of European Turkey, and prepared the favourable basis for the Greco-Bulgarian treaty of 1912. This treaty, together with the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of the same year, which resulted in the Balkan War, were in object and contents a natural and logical outcome of the political and economic understanding of 1904 and 1909. The initiative in this beneficial political understanding belonged chiefly to Bulgaria. I said, and I repeat, that this idea of a Confederation is popular in Bulgaria, and is

* The Bulgarian Academy's publications, 1900, vol. lxi.

carefully cultivated among the Bulgarian educated classes, in the activity of the Bulgarian political parties. Books, long articles, and serious researches on this question have been published in Bulgarian.* But all declare that the realization of this confederation can be only in national political unity, in free, complete, independent development for each of the Balkan nations. No Balkan nation should have under its political and economic rule compact masses belonging to another Balkan nationality.

M. Drakoules adopts the principle of confederation, but he is silent on this first condition of its realization. This condition is a just division of land conquered in the war, a division on the basis of the principle of nationalities. M. Drakoules protests against the Chauvinism of Balkan nations, which has been the main cause of their misunderstandings, but avoids the fact that in the territories taken in the Balkan War by Greece, Serbia, and Roumania, there are pure Bulgarian populations. These populations can never be content with their lot as long as they remain separated from their brothers in blood and language, with whom they have been closely united by centuries of history, interest, joys, and sufferings. Let Greece obtain Epirus, the Ægean Islands, and that part of Asia Minor inhabited by Greeks, if at the same time in the interest of equal justice the lands occupied by Bulgarian populations in New Greece are united to the Bulgarian nation.

M. Drakoules says that the Greek compact masses, wherever they are to be met with, desire unity in their own independence. This independence, he adds justly, can exist only on the condition that the other nations of the Balkans should exist on similar bases. The progress of a nation is more important than that of an individual, and the progress of several nations on a continent is more

* "Towards the Balkan Confederation," 1913, by Hr. Kabakchieff; Monography—"The Idea of a Balkan Confederation after the War," "Svobodno Mnenié," 1915, Nos. 12, 13, 14, by P. Stoinoff; "Svobodno Mnenié," 1914, No. 13, by D. Misheff; "Radical," 1914, by T. Vlaicoff; "Narod," Union with Serbia, January, 1915, by J. Sakisoff.

important than that of one nation. In saying that M. Drakoules denies the Bismarckian principle that only in military power, despotism, and the oppression of alien neighbours can nations become greater, stronger, and progressive. The Balkan nations and States may preserve themselves from invasions only by forgetting their mutual wrongs and persecutions, in patiently discovering a means to bear with each other, and in agreeing to decide all the differences among themselves by arbitration. Thus only will the future preservation, happiness, and enduring peace of the Balkan nationalities be attained. Only in this way can the now frequent causes of misunderstanding between the Great Powers be avoided. Greeks, Serbians, Roumanians, and Bulgarians alike should receive satisfaction in their national aspirations. This is demanded not only for the sake of justice and peace, but also in the development of economic life. It is clear and comprehensible that when you grant a nation a habitation, you cannot exclude the principal members of the family from it and lock the door of the habitation against them. Provinces should not be deprived of their sea-port, the front door of their economic existence. The Bucharest peace in giving the port of Kavala to Greece has deprived the provinces of Nevrokop, Melnik, Petrich, and Djoumaya of the possibility of a normal economic existence.

Serious fears exist in many circles that at the settlement of the general European War the Entente will fail to put in force its plan based on the principle of nationalities. Should it so fail, it will mean a complete defeat of the Allies and a triumph for the interests of the Central Powers. The volcano will not be extinct, and will cast up as before the most serious motives for conflicts among the European States. German and Austrian influence will increase in the Balkans, and the differences cleverly incited by these States will become more acute, and will be a constant menace to peace. Self-destruction will continue, and ten years will not pass before a war between Greece and

Bulgaria, or Bulgaria and Serbia, will be unavoidable. It is more than probable that the States of the Central Powers will employ all means and efforts to realize, at the close of the general European War, the very principle of nationalities proclaimed by the Entente. Neither, on the other hand, is there a doubt that some Governments and circles of the Balkan States, in their great Chauvinism, greed, shortsightedness, and inability to understand their own interests, will contribute by one means or another to the failure of the principle of nationalities. This will be the greatest misfortune. It should not be forgotten that as the present general European War was the outcome of ignoring the principle of nationalities in the Balkans, so will future wars be the outcome of ignoring the same principle. This is why, at the close of the present war, the peace of Europe and the true interests of the Balkan States alike demand that means be discovered for the enforcement of the principle of nationalities. I say enforcement, because, in view of the endeavours of the Central Powers, I do not believe that the principle will be willingly adopted by the Balkan States themselves.

II

M. Drakoules gives us to understand in his article that the bases and condition for tolerance, mutual understanding and confederation in political organization should be cultivated in the schools, and by political education, but all this without depriving Greece of the Bulgarian lands which she received by the Bucharest Treaty, and with the further augmentation of the *Ægean* Islands, Epirus, and those parts of Asia Minor inhabited by Greeks. But this contradicts the main principle, and defeats the main object proclaimed by M. Drakoules.

M. Drakoules further gives us to understand, and the Athens Press constantly affirms it, that the newly-acquired provinces of South Macedonia, under discussion, as also the Adrianople Vilayet (Thrace) do not belong to Bulgaria

because the majority of the inhabitants are Greeks. This affirmation does not harmonize with the truth ; it disagrees with the statistics of Hilmi Pasha, former Governor-General of Macedonia, published by René Penon. Nor does this affirmation agree with the ethnographical information of the Greek Government itself, in the person of M. Venezelos, who, on the eve of the Balkan War, as also in the first half of the year 1913, during the negotiations with the Bulgarian Government for the division of the conquered lands in South Macedonia, formally proposed "a line granting to Greece the parts inhabited by Greeks west of Kavala passing south of Koukoush. . . ." In this proposition M. Venezelos, understanding that the Greeks were sparsely met with in these regions, and that Central and South Macedonia, and in particular the districts of Stroumitza, Melnik, Djoumaya, Nevrokop, and Razlog, could not normally progress without their natural sea-port Kavala, conceded to Bulgaria besides Kavala also Drama, Demir-Hissar, etc., adopting as bases for negotiations the understanding : (1) The nationalist principle, and the exchange of Greeks against an equal number of Bulgarians ; (2) the principle of a certain balance of power in the Balkans ; (3) the principle of natural frontiers ; and (4) for the satisfaction of Europe the principle of the neutralization of Constantinople and the Straits.

The point upon which the Greek Government has ever been unyielding is the town of Salonica with the Chalkis peninsula. The Christian population of the peninsula is entirely Greek, the population of Salonica is in the majority Jewish, and in sequence Turkish, Greek, Bulgarian. The population of the northern half of the Caza is Bulgarian, while that of the southern is Greek. The Greek and Bulgarian documents regarding the Balkan War, and the negotiations, are yet to be published, but the conciliating and conceding disposition in this direction of M. Venezelos is supported also by the Russian Orange Paper, and the Austrian Red Paper on the same war. Furthermore, the

recent revelations of M. Venezelos, made in his letter to the Gounaris Ministry, reassert the opinion and the guiding principle of M. Venezelos and his Government upon this question. These declarations of M. Venezelos refute both the assertions and declarations of M. Drakoules, the Athens professors, and the Greek Press as regards the ethnographical, political, and economic signification of South Macedonia in relation to Macedonian lands granted to Greece by the Bucharest peace.

I give here a few statistics concerning some Cazas in South Macedonia and Thrace which are of interest to us in the present case. The statistics in approximate figures agree with the Turkish *Salnamés* (Almanach), as also with those of Hilmi Pasha, published by René Penon, with this difference only, that Hilmi Pasha has included the Bulgarian Patriarchists with the Greeks. Besides, these statistics are for a period preceding the Balkan War, subsequent to which the greater part of the Turkish population emigrated. Many Bulgarians and Greeks also emigrated. A part returned after the war, and others are waiting with impatience for an opportunity to go back to their ancestral homes.

The Cazas of South Macedonia, which the Greek Government offered to concede to Bulgaria before the Bucharest peace, for the sake of preserving the Balkan accord, and in the name of undisputed economic, geographical and strategical conditions, are the following : Sara-Shaban, Kavala, Drama, Pravishta, Seres, Zichna, Demir-Hissar, and Koukoush. Of these same Cazas M. Venezelos speaks in the letter above mentioned to the Greek Government.

The Caza of Sara-Shaban is inhabited entirely by Turks, to the number of 15,000 souls. In this Caza there is not one Christian village ; here and there some hundred or two hundred Bulgarians, and as many Greeks may be met with as labourers.

The Caza of Kavala is also Turkish ; its population numbers up to 30,000. There are some 3,500 Muham-

madan Bulgarians (Pomaks) in the villages, and about 4,000 Greeks, and 500 Jews in the town.

The Caza of Drama has a population of 50,140, 10,000 of which are Orthodox Bulgarians, 10,000 Muhammadan Bulgarians (Pomaks), 25,000 Turks, 4,000 Greeks, 1,000 Vlachs, and 140 Jews. Of the Orthodox Bulgarians, 3,000 are Patriarchists. The Greek statistics absorb both the Bulgarian Patriarchists and the Vlachs in the number for the Greeks.

In the Caza of Pravishta, reserved as Greek by M. Venezelos, there are some 500 Muhammadan Bulgarians (Pomaks); there are no Bulgarians. The Turks number 10,000, and the Greeks about 7,000.

In the Caza of Seres the population is 99,560, 38,060 of which are Bulgarians (20,000 of these are Patriarchists and 60 Uniates), 27,000 are Greeks, 2,000 Vlachs, and 2,500 Jews; the last live in the town. Here also the Greek statistics place the Vlachs and the Bulgarian Patriarchists under the heading of Greeks. The Christian population of the town itself is Greek, with a small admixture of Bulgarians and Vlachs.

In the Caza of Zichna the population is 40,000, 15,000 of whom are Bulgarians (10,000 of these are Patriarchists), 7,000 are Turks, 17,000 Greeks, and 1,000 Vlachs. A great part of the Caza falls in the Greek territory, reserved by M. Venezelos, to the west of Kavala.

In the Caza of Demir-Hissar the population is 50,250, 33,000 of which are Bulgarians (of these 7,000 are Patriarchists, and 1,000 Muhammadan Bulgarians), 15,000 are Turks, 250 Greeks, and 2,000 Vlachs. The number of the Greeks is increased by the addition of that of the Vlachs.

In the Caza of Koukoush the population is 23,000 (of these 400 are Patriarchists, 2,000 Uniates, and 100 Protestants); 20,000 are Turks. There are no Greeks in this Caza.

Thus the question in dispute concerns a population of 323,800 inhabitants, spread over some 5,000 square kilo-

metres, of whom (including the Muhammadan Bulgarians) 133,210 are Bulgarian, 122,500 are Turks, 58,950 are Greeks, 6,000 are Vlachs, and 3,140 Jews. I do not include the Bulgarian Patriarchists in the number of the Greeks, as do the Athens professors and Greek papers, because these speak only the Bulgarian language, and are inspired solely by Bulgarian feelings. The Patriarchist Bulgarian population of Macedonia, as also the Uniates and Protestants, have taken an active part in all the movements, struggles, and insurrections against the Turkish régime. They were imprisoned, exiled, and executed equally with the Bulgarian Exarchists. A great part of the Patriarchists immigrated into Bulgaria after the war between the allies, and are awaiting more favourable times to return to the parental hearth. Would it be just for me, for example, to treat the Bulgarian Protestants as Americans, and the Bulgarian Uniates as French or Italian, because the pastors of the first are from America, and the priesthood of the second is from France and Italy, and because they both enjoy the protection of the Protestant and Catholic States? The spiritual heads of both Protestants and Uniates are at present in Salonica officially recognized by the Greek civil authorities.

The geographic and economic side of the question is not less important than the political. I have stated that whole districts, with numerous population to the north, adjudged by the treaty of Bucharest to Bulgaria, remain without an exit, their legitimate sea-coast on the Ægean Sea being under Greek control.

This is a matter of life and death for these people, and they will strive for conditions permitting a normal existence and economic development. Mutual annoyance and armed conflict will continue, and under such conditions peace in the Balkans is unthinkable. What would happen with the population of north of Marseilles if that city, together with all the French Mediterranean sea-board, were to be turned over to another State unfriendly to France?

As to the population of the Adrianople Vilayet (Thrace), according to the statistics before the Balkan War, it is accounted for as follows : The majority of the population in this Vilayet is Muhammadan ; it numbers 413,500—*i.e.*, 53 per cent. (here are included the districts of Gumuldjina and Dedeagatch, which the Bucharest peace gave to Bulgaria), the Bulgarians amount in the same Vilayet to 170,000, or 22 per cent., the Greeks to 155,300, *i.e.*, 20 per cent. When, before the war between the allies, the question was under discussion between the Bulgarian and Greek Governments, the latter presented the number of the Greeks as high as 248,900, having included in this number the Bulgarian Patriarchists and the Vlachs, also the Orthodox Gagaouse and Surgoutch. These last numbers have been adopted by all Greek statisticians, as well as by the Greek professors, and yet it is insisted that the majority of the Thracian population is Greek. Even if we accepted these figures, although they are neither correct nor just, the remaining part of the population forms the majority. Moreover, the Greek minority in Thrace is not in compact masses ; it is scattered in groups, especially in the southern and eastern parts of the Vilayet.

But even geographically the annexation of this province to Greece is inadmissible. A fairly compact Greek population there was, before the Balkan War, in the more southern part of Thrace, south of the line Enos-Midia. But after the Bucharest peace, and the re-occupation of the Adrianople Vilayet by Turkey, the greater part of the Greek population was expelled from these parts, and only a limited number of Greeks have remained this side of the line Enos-Midia, in the towns of Adrianople and Lozengrad. Until the Balkan War the Bulgarians and the Turks comprised three-fourths of the entire population of the Vilayet, the Greeks one-fourth. Furthermore, an impartial inquirer will find that the Bulgarian Patriarchists, Bulgarian Muhammadans, the Turks, the Vlachs, and Jews of South Macedonia prefer to be under Bulgarian rule rather than

under Greek. All these people know well Bulgarian toleration, and are influenced by freer economic life. That this is so is supported by the recent fact that many of these Bulgarian Patriarchists, Turks, and Vlachs have fled to Bulgaria to wait for a favourable time to return to the old homes.

III

Not only, therefore, do the political, ethnical, geographical, and economic necessities demand the cession to Bulgaria of these disputed districts in Southern Macedonia, but also in the interests of normal existence and development of the population of East and Central Macedonia, and in the interests of peace and of a common understanding for the attainment of a confederative organization in the Balkans. History itself supports us, and categorically refutes all Greek and Serbian authors, who, by every possible means, attempt in vain to distort the truth and prove that the Bulgarians possess no ethnical and cultural rights in Macedonia. Truth and justice are necessary everywhere; they are especially necessary in modern politics, and in the lives of the present States and nations. When these are absent, there follows repudiation of responsibility and unrest; then war as an unavoidable consequence. It is not in the interest of debate to conceal what is evident and to deny what has been proved dozens of times by disinterested men of high reputation and of different nations, amongst them Greeks and Serbians.

The Macedonians, the Greek and Serbian professors and writers say, are not Bulgarians: they commenced to call themselves Bulgarians only after the creation of the Exarchate. This assertion is groundless. Against it there are many refutations of old and recent times, published by many and various writers. I scarcely know how and where to commence to quote them. I will limit myself to a few facts and authors well known in the learned European world. I do not refer you to the ancient Byzantine chroniclers, but will commence with the Byzantine

Emperor, Basil II., the Bulgarian-killer, who reigned during the tenth century, and who conquered the Western Bulgarian kingdom—namely, Macedonia. This Emperor has left three imperial decrees to the Bulgarian Archbishops of Ochrida ; these decrees can be seen and read in the Greek publication of Ralli and Patli, printed in Athens in 1855, under the title *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*. There the Macedonian population is mentioned in several places as Bulgarian, and spiritually subjected to the Ochrida Bulgarian Archbishopry. Is it possible to doubt the evidence of a Byzantine Emperor and his chancellory regarding a country just conquered by him ?

In the same publication of Ralli and Patli are given, in translation, the old titles of the Greek Metropolitans of Macedonia. The title upon which the Metropolitan of Kostoria prided himself, when officiating in the church, was *ὁ Καστορίος ὑπέρτιμος καὶ ἐξάρχος πάσης παλαιᾶς Βουλγαρίας*, "The most Honourable Metropolitan and Exarch of Kostoria and all Ancient Bulgaria," while the Bishop of Strouma prided himself with the following title : "The Most Honourable Metropolitan of Strouma and Jevernopol, Exarch of Bulgarian Macedonia." Can there be any doubt regarding these titles of Metropolitans ordered and sanctioned by the Patriarchate of Constantinople itself ? There are scores of such testimonies in history ; here, however, I will limit myself to these two : Vuca Karadjitch, one of the modern learned men of Serbia, entitled the Father of the Serbian language, published a book in 1822, entitled : "Supplement to the St. Petersburg Comparative Dictionary," in which, for the first time in modern times, is mentioned the existence of the Bulgarian language, forgotten until then. He writes also that the population of Macedonia speaks this Bulgarian language.

The Serbian historian Ivan Raitch, in his "History of the Serbian People," written in 1794, gives us clearly to understand that the Serbian lands stretch as far as the Shar Mountain, and that Macedonia and its population are

Bulgarian. For this we have also the testimony of the Serbian Patriarch Arseni Tchernovitch, and his Deacon Velko Popovitch, who travelled in Scopie and district in 1690.* Is it necessary for me to mention also, for the same purpose, the authoritative names of Professor Yanitch of the Vienna University, "History of the Slav Philology,"† that of the Serbian archæologist St. Verkovitch, "National Songs of the Macedonian Bulgarians," published by the Serbian Government, in Belgrade, in 1860, and his other book "Description of the Life of the Macedonian Bulgarian," published in Moscow in 1868? Many are the testimonies from Serbian sources which prove that the Macedonian population has been and is Bulgarian.

There are only a few modern Serbian professors and writers who affirm the contrary. They are inspired by extreme Chauvinism and greed for territory.

Can there be more indisputable proofs that the nationality, the culture, and the aspirations of the Macedonian population are Bulgarian than in the many revolutionary movements, and even insurrections, within the last quarter of a century. But if such proofs are required, witness the expulsion from Macedonia by the Serbian and Greek authorities of all the Bulgarian Macedonian priesthood and teachers, and the closing of all Bulgarian churches, monasteries, schools, hospitals, and other benevolent institutions, and the enforced emigration of the common Macedonian population! Can any one point out to me a Greek or Serbian insurrection, in modern times, in Macedonia, or a modern emigration of Greeks or Serbians from Macedonia?

There have been many learned European travellers of all nations who have left us unquestionable testimony regarding the nationality, the life and condition of the Macedonians. Practically all these scientific and impartial travellers, who have visited Macedonia, declare the country

* Danitchin, Magazine of the South Slavic Academy, "Antiquities," i. 4.

† Page 345.

to be Bulgarian. A few of these travellers are: G. M. Mackenzie and A. P. Irby, "The Turks, the Greeks, and the Slavons," London, 1867; Ami Boué, "La Turquie d'Europe," Paris, 1840; and his "Ethnographische Karte des Osmanischen Reichs europaischen Theiles und von Griechenland, Berghaus, Phys. Atlas VIII.," Taf. 19, 1847; Pouqueville, "Voyages en Grèce," Paris, 1826; E. E. Cousinery, "Voyages dans la Macédoine," 1831; G. Lejean, "Carte ethnographique de l'Europe et des Etats vassaux autonomes, Ergänzungsheft, No. 4 zu Petermans Mitteilungen, Gotha Justus Pertens," 1861; Louis Leger, "La Bulgarie," 1885; "Les Rapsodies Jougoslaves," Paris, 1877; "Greco, Serbes et Bulgares," Paris, 1896, etc., etc. The Germans: Griesebach, "Reise durch Rumelien und nach Brussa," Gottingen, 1841; Hahn, "Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik." Denkschriften D. K. A. d. w.; Philis Natura, XI. Bd. w. 1861; Kiepert, "Ethnographische Uebersicht des europaischen Orient," Berlin, 1876; Veigand, "Die Aromanen," Leipzig, 1894. The Cechs: Niderle, "La Race Slave," "La Question Macédonienne," Prague, 1901; Iretchek, "History of Bulgaria." The Russians: Professor Victor Gregorovitch, who visited Macedonia in 1844, published his book entitled "Description of Travels in European Turkey" (2nd edition), Moscow, 1877; P. N. Milyukoff, "Serbo-Bulgarian Relations or the Macedonian Question"; the journal "Rouskoé Bogatsvo" (Russian Treasury), Petersburg, 1900, p. 255; Professor Lavroff "Survey of the Sounds and the Formal Particulars of the Bulgarian Language," Moscow, 1893; Hilferding, "Old Serbia and Albania," 1856; Kondakow, of the Academy, "Macedonia, Archæological Excursion," Petersburg, 1909; Professor N. S. Derjavin, "Bulgaro-Serbian Mutual Relations, and the Macedonian Question," Petersburg, 1914.

As the reader has observed, the greater number of the above-mentioned learned authors travelled, studied, and wrote on Macedonia before the existence of the Exarchate,

and before the wakening of the Bulgarian people. I have already said the Exarchate was instituted in 1870.*

IV

Finally, the Constantinople Conference of 1877, signed by the representatives of all the Great Powers; the San Stefano Treaty; the Berlin Treaty; the Mürschteg Reforms; those of Revel, and lastly, the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of 1912, concluded under the auspices and protection of Russia, and, of course, under that of the Triple Entente, undisputably fix the ethnical character, the international position, and the political and economic interests of Macedonia, as Bulgarian. These acts declare the political destiny of Macedonia. Anything foreign to these acts is artificial and injurious to Balkan peace. It can be useful only to Teutonism, which is directly against the interests of the desired Balkan league and future confederation.

There is not in history a more favourable opportunity than the present European War for consolidating the compact masses of the Greek population living on the European and Asiatic sea-boards of the Near East. But at the same time a similar national entity must be accorded to the Bulgarian people.

* I may further add that the reputed Turkish chroniclers and travellers, Hadji Kalfa and Evlia Tchelebi, who wrote in the eighteenth century, have also left us testimony regarding the nationality of the Macedonian population. Their writings, printed in Constantinople, utilized at the time by Hamer and other Europeans, show clearly that the Christian population of Macedonia is Bulgarian.

BRASYER OF BRASYER'S SIKHS

BY COLONEL SIR EDWARD T. THACKERAY, V.C., K.C.B.

AT the present time during the great war with Germany, when the new and excellent system has been introduced of promoting large numbers of warrant and non-commissioned officers from the ranks, it is interesting to recall the important services rendered to the State by a very gallant and distinguished officer—the late Colonel Jeremiah Brasyer, C.B., of the Ferozeshah Regiment of Sikhs, who from the position of sergeant-major of the 26th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry rose to the command of his regiment, and held the fortress of Allahabad at the most critical time of the Indian Mutiny.

Jeremiah Brasyer was brought up as a gardener in Kent, and enlisted in the Bengal Artillery in 1833.

Under the old system that obtained in the H.E.I. Company's service one or two European non-commissioned officers, holding the position of sergeant-major or quarter-master-sergeant, were attached to each regiment of native infantry, and in September, 1837, we find Brasyer serving as sergeant-major of the 26th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry.

In 1842, with his regiment, he served in the expedition under the command of Major-General Sir George Pollock—afterwards Field Marshal—which proceeded to relieve Sale at Jellalabad, forced the Khyber with his army of retribution, and relieved Sale on April 16. When ordered by Lord Ellenborough to withdraw from Afghanistan, General

Pollock remonstrated, and was allowed to advance at his own discretion, and, with Nott, to retire to India "by way of Kabul." Brasyer was present at the actions of Mamu Khel, Jagdalak, and Tezin, with the Artillery; and in the Sikh Campaign at Mudki, Ferozeshah, and Sobraon with the 26th Native Infantry.

In recognition of his services during these campaigns Brasyer was promoted to be Ensign in 1846, and was afterwards appointed to be interpreter to the Ferozeshah regiment of Sikhs, which he afterwards commanded, and which was subsequently for some time known as Brasyer's Sikhs.

When the Indian Mutiny broke out the storm broke at Allahabad with overwhelming force. Hindus and Mussulmans rose against us. The roving bands of sepoy and sowars and escaped gaol-birds who were flooding the surrounding districts wholly disorganized our police, and what was said to be a Muhammadan conspiracy was hatched in the very heart of the city.

It was fortunate that the bulk of our people were shut up in the fort, where no external perils could assail them. But there was danger within the walls. A company of the Sixth formed part of the garrison, and the temper of the Sikhs at that time was doubtful. The story of the outbreak of the Mutiny at Allahabad is related in Kaye's "History of the Sepoy War." When the noise of firing in the city was first heard it was believed that the mutineers from Benares had arrived, and that the sepoy of Allahabad were having a warm reception. But at a later hour the truth broke in upon them, and all doubt was removed by the appearance of the Commandant, Simpson, smeared with the blood of his wounded charger.

His first care was to order the sepoy of the Sixth to be disarmed. This duty was entrusted to a detachment of the Sikh corps, under Lieutenant Brasyer—an officer who had won for himself a commission by his gallantry in the great battles of the Punjab, and who now proved his mastery

over his men by forcing them to do a distasteful service. Then came the news that the Benares sepoy of the regular army had been mown down by the white troops. It was therefore fearfully probable that the offended nationality of the Sikhs at Allahabad would rise against their Christian masters, partly in revenge, and partly in fear. Happily, the treasure was outside the fort. Had the design of bringing it within the walls not been abandoned the love of loot and the thirst for blood would have prevailed together, and Allahabad might have been lost.

It was, in truth, a most critical moment. Had the men of the Sixth Regiment and the Sikhs then in the fort made common cause with each other, the small Christian garrison could have made but feeble resistance against such odds. The sepoy who were posted, for purposes of defence, at the main gate had on the first sound of firing in cantonments been ordered to load their pieces, so they were ready for immediate action. The Sikhs were drawn up fronting the main gate, and before them were the guns, manned by the invalid artillery-men from Chunar, in whom the energy of previous days was revived by this unexpected demand upon them. And at a little distance, in overawing position, were posted little knots of European Volunteers, armed and loaded, ready on the first sign of resistance to fire down from the ramparts upon the mutineers.

The sepoy, charged to the brim with sedition, would fain have resisted the orders of the white men, but these arrangements thoroughly overawed them. They sullenly piled arms at the word of command, and were expelled from the fort to join their comrades in rebellion.

The first danger was now surmounted. Those who knew best what was passing in the minds of the native soldiery of all races clearly saw the magnitude of the crisis.

It is impossible to over-estimate the disastrous consequences that would have ensued from the seizure and occupation by the enemy of the fortress of Allahabad, with

all its large munitions of war. One officer, however, was prepared at any risk to prevent this catastrophe by precipitating another. Stimulated, perhaps, by the noble example set by Willoughby at Delhi, Russell, of the Artillery, laid trains of gunpowder from the magazines to a point at which he stood during the disarming of the Sikhs near the loaded guns, and if mutiny had been successful, he would have fired the trains and blown the magazines with all the surrounding buildings into the air. The expulsion of the Hindustani sepoys, effected by Brasyer's cool courage and admirable management, averted for the moment this great calamity, and all that was left undone was afterwards set right by the help of the rational character of the Sikhs.

Brigadier-General Neill had arrived at Allahabad on June 11. The news that Neill was coming did more than anything to establish confidence in the garrison. The old spirit of self-reliance had never failed, and it was felt that a handful of European soldiers under a commander with a clear head and a stout heart might hold Allahabad against the whole world of mutiny and rebellion. As he entered the gates of the fort the sentry exclaimed: "Thank God, sir, you'll save us yet!"

On the morning after his arrival he opened fire from the fort guns on the village of Darah-gunge, which was held by a large body of insurgent rabble, and then sent forward to the attack detachments of Fusiliers and Sikhs, who cleared the village, burnt it, and regained position of the bridge, which Neill afterwards repaired. Neill's Journal relates:

"*June 10.*—The tone and bearing of the native officials bad; evidently a good deal of plundering; villages burning in all directions; the country almost deserted; plundered by the Zemindars about. The revenues just about to be collected; the toll-house on road to Saidabad plundered; nearly destroyed; the body of the murdered man, an European, in the house, his daughter said to be taken off by a neighbouring Zemindar."

Neill now felt himself strong enough for any emergency. The first suggestion of this increased strength was the removal of the Sikhs from the fort. The stores of the European merchants had been plundered, and beer, wines, and spirits, were as plentiful as water in the fort. The Sikhs sold large quantities of liquor of all kinds to the Europeans, and a reign of intoxication set in which subverted all military authority. This was an enemy for which Neill was not prepared, but his clear brain soon discerned the means of meeting and subduing it.

He directed the commissariat officer to purchase at the prices asked by the Sikhs all the liquor remaining in their hands, and to lodge it securely in the Government stores. This done, the removal of the Sikhs to quarters outside the fort was comparatively easy ; but it was not to be done by force. He had taken counsel with Brasyer and with the energetic magistrate, Court, and the Sikhs were persuaded to take up a position in some old Government buildings outside the fort commanded by the guns on its ramparts.

On the 18th Neill marched out again with his whole force. Sending one detachment to attack the Pathan village of Dariabad and the Mehwattee villages of Saidabad and Russelpore, he led the main body into the city, which he found deserted, and afterwards halted them in the now desolated cantonment on the old parade-ground of the Sikhs. The fighting was now over ; the work had been done. The English were masters, not merely of the fort, but of the recovered city and the European station, from which they had been driven scarcely two weeks ago.

“Over the whole history of the sepoy war,” writes Sir William Kaye, “over the whole length and breadth of the country which witnessed its manifold horrors, there is no darker cloud than that which gathered over Allahabad in this terrible summer.” And it was only by the firmness, resolution, and courage, of men like Neill, Russell, and Brasyer, that a great disaster was averted.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

AKBAR, THE GREAT MOGUL : HIS LIFE, CHARACTER, AND OPINIONS (1542-1605)

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (retired)

IN the long roll of historical Indian sovereigns extending over more than two thousand years, two names—those of Asoka the Buddhist, and Akbar the Mogul emperor*—enjoy unchallenged pre-eminence. The extent of the empire of the Buddhist monarch in the third century before Christ, greater even than that won at the time of Queen Elizabeth by his Mogul rival in reputation, is sufficiently ascertained, and his system of government is known with surprising wealth of detail. His imperishable writings, graven on the rocks, disclose much of his noble character, while the material remains of his works, although scanty, suffice to enable us to appreciate in some measure his artistic taste, his stately magnificence, and his enormous resources. But the man himself remains hidden. Nobody can tell when or where he was born, what he looked like, or how, when, or where he died. The memory of his friends has perished. It is, in short, impossible to form a distinct mental picture of Asoka as he lived, moved, and had his being.

Akbar, on the contrary, is known to us from the cradle to the grave. We can stand beside his mother's couch in the desert, follow the child in his perilous journey through the snows of Afghanistan, see his tender body exposed on

* The name is pronounced "Ukbur."

the walls of Kābul to his father's guns, share in that father's festivities when the boy was restored safe and sound to his arms, and assist at the simple ceremony of the enthronement at Kalānaur. We can watch Akbar, after he had been called at the age of thirteen to occupy the throne of India, won by his gallant grandsire and lost for a time by his shiftless sire, learning the art and mystery of government during the years of tutelage which his masterful spirit so quickly ended. Then we can follow him through a long course of almost unbroken victories which made him the richest prince of his age, and absolute lord of an empire far greater than that of any of his European contemporaries. We can note the sad decline of his latter days when his vast natural strength abated and his heart was saddened by the unworthiness and ingratitude of his sons. Finally, we can watch by the bedside of the dying monarch after half a century of kingship, and behold him binding the sword of Humāyūn and his own turban on the person of the one son left to him, still loved although rebellious.

The features, dress, and manners of Akbar are recorded in vivid descriptions written by men who knew him intimately, and are made visible to our eyes by a long series of portraits extending from childhood to old age and limned by cunning artists.* The same artists have furnished a gallery of pictures through which we can make the acquaintance of all his chief friends and captains. His accomplished Secretary of State tells us that "His Majesty plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay." Although many of those splendid edifices have returned to the dust from which they came, enough remain to express the mind and heart of the monarch who planned them.

* The illustrations to the *Akbarnāmah*, now well mounted and exhibited in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, supply a pictorial history of the reign and a long series of portraits of Akbar. Many other portraits may be seen in the manuscripts in the British Museum, India Office, and Bodleian libraries, as well as in collections at Patna, Delhi, and other places in India.

The statistics of the empire, and almost all the details of the administration, are recorded in that wonderful book, *The Institutes of Akbar*, which Abūl Fazl compiled about A.D. 1590, after many years of labour. In short, all the external facts concerning a long and prosperous reign are adequately commemorated.

But the real interest of Akbar's life does not lie in those external facts. The man himself is the fascinating subject which invites and rewards the closest study. The material for such study is ample, and if the student sometimes feels perplexed at the results of his investigations, the reason is to be found in the complexity of the character of one of the ablest men and greatest kings known to history. Akbar occupies among Asiatic sovereigns a position unique in the strict sense of that word, and as a king was endowed with qualities which entitle him to take equal rank with his contemporaries, Elizabeth of England and Henry of Navarre.* When he is regarded as a man, he should not be bedaubed with indiscriminate panegyric. Akbar was not a saint. He was a very human man, not exempt from follies and frailties, or, perhaps, even from vices, if a strict standard be applied.

It might be supposed that the life-history of such a monarch would have attracted a crowd of biographers from many nations, eager to explore the rich mine of historical record, and to adorn the outcome of their researches with all the graces of style. But the fact is that nobody has yet written a critical study of the life of Akbar in any language. The contemporary authorities, often contradictory or suspect for one reason or another, need to be compared, sifted, and weighed. Elphinstone's summary of the story of Akbar (1841), mostly accurate as far as it goes, does not go far. Malleon's little sketch in the *Rulers of India* series (1899) is slight, and especially

* Reign of Akbar from January, 1556, to October, 1605; of Elizabeth from November, 1558, to March, 1603; of Henry IV. of Navarre and France from August, 1589, to May, 1610.

defective in ignoring the copious Jesuit testimony. The only modern author who has seriously attempted to grapple with the history of Akbar is Count von Noer, whose book in two small volumes (1881, 1885) was ably translated from the German by Mrs. Beveridge in 1890. That work, left incomplete by the author, and badly patched by another hand, is far from satisfactory.

If life and health should be granted to me, I hope in the course of a year or so to execute a project cherished for more than twenty years, and to produce a biography of Akbar, which, although not on the scale once planned, may be at least better than anything now in existence on the subject.

To-day the time available permits of but a very slight notice of a few selected topics, for the most part not those which occupy the largest space in the ordinary books. The reign of Akbar would provide ample material for a course of lectures. I propose merely to glance at the story of his wars, annexations, and fiscal policy, confining myself almost exclusively to the personal aspect of the vast subject.

Before we get to work, a few words must be devoted to telling how Akbar inherited the opportunity for his achievement. Tod observes, and I think with truth, that—"We are proud to pay our tribute of applause to the illustrious house of Tīmūr, whose princes, though despots by birth and education, and albeit the bane of Rājputāna, we must allow, present a more remarkable succession of great characters, historians, statesmen, and warriors than any contemporary dynasty in any region of the world."

The earliest member of that illustrious house with whom India had concern was Akbar's grandfather, Bābur,* who, after a tempestuous youth, full of romantic adventures, settled down in 1504 as King of Kābul, and directed his thoughts and ambition to the conquest of the rich Indian plains. His final invasion began in November, 1525.

* Bābur, not Bābar, is the correct spelling.

The first battle of Pānipat in the April following enabled Bābur to seize the throne of Delhi. Hindu opposition was killed by the defeat of the Rājput clans, under the leadership of the gallant Rānā Sanga in 1527, and a third battle, fought on the bank of the Ghāghra (Gogra) in 1529, carried the invader's arms to the frontier of Bengal. When Bābur died in 1530 he was in military occupation of north-western India. He left his precarious crown to his eldest son, Humāyūn, an accomplished but shiftless prince, the slave of the opium habit. Nine and a half years later Humāyūn had to make way for a better man, Shēr Shāh, the Sūr Afghan. After the death of Shēr Shāh in 1545, members of the Sūr family continued to occupy the throne of Delhi in a fashion, until 1555, when Humāyūn, who had recovered Kandahar and Kābul with Persian help, returned to India, defeated Sikandar Sūr at Sahrind, and again became Padshāh of Delhi. He enjoyed his recovered throne for only about six months, until he was killed by an accident in January, 1556, leaving his royal rights and claims, such as they were, to his eldest son, Akbar, a boy of thirteen. For a moment Delhi and Agra passed into the possession of Hēmū, the general and minister of Adali, one of the Sūr claimants, but the second battle of Pānipat, won by Akbar's capable guardian, Bairām Khān, secured those cities and some surrounding territory for the boy-king in November, 1556.

The Sūr claimants were soon disposed of, and during the three years and a half of Bairām Khān's regency (1556-1560) Ajmēr, Gwalior, and Jaunpur were occupied. In 1560 Akbar, now eighteen years of age, dismissed the Regent, and nominally undertook the burden of government. But the real power was in the hands of Māham Anaga, the head nurse, and a corrupt palace clique of men and women. Akbar, who seemed to care for nothing but sport, did not shake himself free from the ignoble bonds which held him until May, 1562, when Adham Khān, son of Māham Anaga, murdered the prime minister in the palace, and threatened

his sovereign's life. The wrath of Akbar blazed forth, and in pursuance of his stern command, the murderer was instantly cast down from the terrace and slain. A picture of the incident may be seen at South Kensington. From that day petticoat government was at an end. The emancipation of Akbar was completed in March, 1564, by his infliction of condign and merited punishment on his mother's half-brother, Khwāja Muazzam, for a cruel and dastardly murder. From that date Akbar was fully master in his own house, and during the remaining forty years of his reign no man or woman presumed to dispute his royal will. The recorded "Happy Sayings" of Akbar—a valuable and hitherto neglected source of information concerning his character and thoughts—include the observation that—

"It was the effect of the grace of God that I found no capable minister, otherwise people would have considered my measures had been devised by him."

It is true that the policy of his long reign from 1562 was his own. Abūl Fazl, Rājā Todar Mall, and the other officials whose names occupy prominent places in history, were his secretaries and agents, but not one of them ever aspired to dictate his course of action. In 1563, while still in his twenty-first year, Akbar showed the independence of his mind by abolishing all the lucrative taxes on Hindu pilgrims. The following year he renounced the *jizya*, or poll-tax, on non-Muslims—that is to say, in practice, on Hindus—which brought in a huge revenue.

Those two measures prove conclusively that Akbar, even in early youth, and while still a zealous Musalman, had definitely decided on making the equal treatment of Muslims and Hindus the leading principle of his government. The idea was an absolutely novel one, opposed to the practice of all his predecessors, whether entitled Sultan or Padshāh, and undoubtedly distasteful to the members of his court, male and female. Fīrōz Shāh, in the fourteenth century, whom the history books praises as an admirable sovereign, relates with pride in a tract written by himself that he had

burned alive a Brahman who had dared to perform the rites of his religion in public. The Sultan declares that such an abuse could not be permitted in "a Musulman country." The phrase concisely expresses the attitude of all the predecessors of Akbar. The Hindus, forming nineteen-twentieths, more or less, of the population, were expected to be grateful for the bare permission to live on condition of paying the *jizya* as ransom. Akbar, before he was one-and-twenty, had realized the absurdity and impolicy of that attitude, which rendered the creation of a strong monarchy impossible. Even at that early age he had learned the truth that to be king indeed of all India he must be the king of infidel Hindus as well as of believing Muslims. We must remember that in that period every State in Europe maintained the doctrine that all good subjects of any kingdom must profess the religion favoured by the government. Akbar's innovation was his own, not suggested by ministers or copied from the practice of any other contemporary sovereign, although in accordance with the usual conduct of Hindu governments throughout the ages.

I now turn back from the history of the reign to glance for a moment at the story of the birth and stormy childhood of Akbar. His father, Humāyūn, after his defeats by Shēr Shāh, had been driven into Sind, where he and his scanty following suffered the most distressing privations. In August, 1542, the fugitives reached Umarkōt, a small town on the edge of the Sind desert, where they were hospitably received and entertained by the local Hindu Raja. In the previous year Humāyūn had added to his collection of wives a distant relation, a young lady named Hamīda Bāno Bēgam, only fourteen years of age. At Umarkōt, on Thursday, November 23, she brought forth a baby boy, Akbar. The official date of birth is recorded as Sunday, October 15, but the true date has been preserved by Humāyūn's personal attendant, Jauhar, who was present when the happy news was brought to the father's camp, not far from Umarkōt, and when the child was named. The

false official date was adopted chiefly in order to secure the infant against the machinations of necromancers. Subsidiary motives were the preference for Sunday for Thursday on astrological grounds, and the desire to have the birthday on the date in the Muhammadan year traditionally reported to be that of the conception of the prophet Muhammad.* An account at all full of the adventures of Humāyūn and his child during the following years would afford ample material for a separate discourse. Here only one incident can be mentioned. Humāyūn engaged in a long struggle with his brother Kāmṛān, the ruler of Kābul, fortune inclining now to one, and now to the other side. Early in 1547, Kāmṛān, being then besieged at Kābul by Humāyūn, was in possession of the child, and was cruel enough to expose little Akbar on the walls to the shot from his father's guns. Of course, as soon as he was observed the firing was stopped. Shortly afterwards Kāmṛān fled, and Humāyūn recovered his boy. But he lost him once again, and did not obtain possession of him finally until 1550.

When Akbar was about five years of age, and was with his father in 1547, arrangements were made for his education. The first tutor appointed was dismissed because he was more inclined to teach his pupil the mysteries of pigeon-flying than the rudiments of letters. His successor, a more conscientious man, remained in office for several years, and did his best. He was followed by a third and a fourth tutor. Their efforts bore little fruit. Akbar was a thoroughly idle boy from the schoolmaster's point of view, and resisted all attempts to give him book-learning so successfully that he never mastered the alphabet, and to the end of his days was unable even to read his own name. He made up for his idleness with the tutors by acquiring thorough knowledge of the management of dogs, horses, camels, and elephants. As he grew older he developed

* I have examined the evidence closely in an essay of considerable length, which will be published in due course.

into an athlete of extraordinary strength, and at the age of fourteen was able to control a fierce elephant. He was absolutely without fear, and long after he had attained manhood was always ready to risk his life in the most madcap adventures. He became a splendid shot, and attained proficiency in every branch of sport, and in the use of all arms. His ignorance of reading and writing did not inconvenience him. He loved to hear books read to him by other people, and had a memory of almost super-human power, which enabled him to learn by the ear more than ordinary readers can learn by the eye. When a boy he learned by heart the mystic odes of Hāfiz and Rūmī—a study which, no doubt, had its influence on his mature opinions. One of his tutors specially inculcated the doctrine of toleration for all, which Akbar afterwards put in practice for a time with all his royal strength when he attained power.

I now resume the history of the reign at the point where it was interrupted.

The principal external event of the inglorious period of Māham Anaga's rule (1560-1562) during which Akbar, to use Abūl Fazl's oft-repeated phrase, kept "behind the veil," was the expedition for the conquest of Mālwa, at first under the command of Adham Khān, and afterwards under that of Pīr Muhammad. The latter upstart officer, who had shown shameless ingratitude to his original patron, Bairām Khān, committed horrid cruelties. The blood of the prisoners taken flowed like "river upon river." Even holy Sayyids and Shaikhs with the Koran in their hands were not spared. It is not pleasant to read that Akbar rewarded the brute with gifts of horses and robes of honour. But, although his sovereign was indifferent, the cruelty, insolence, and severity of the man were punished, and the sighs of the orphans, the helpless, and the captives were avenged by a higher power. Pīr Muhammad was drowned in the Nerbudda, and so, to quote Badāoni's bitter gibe, "went by water to fire."

In the year 1561 Akbar had begun to pay some intermittent attention to State business. His punishment of Adham Khān, as already observed, brought about a definite change, and from that time, May, 1562, he rent the veil and openly asserted his kingly authority. We learn from his "Happy Sayings" that a few months later, about October, the reform in his outward conduct was accompanied by an inward, spiritual change.

"On the completion of my twentieth year," he said, "I experienced an internal bitterness, and from the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey, my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow."

It is impossible not to connect this access of religious melancholy with the public events which had preceded it. Akbar had learned by bitter experience the painful lesson that the persons, male and female, in whom he had reposed confidence, were wholly unworthy of his trust, and were even prepared to take his life. He had become conscious of the vast responsibilities resting on his shoulders, and was forced to the conclusion that he must rely on his own strength, supported by Divine help, to bear them. He could not any longer lean upon the broken reed of false friends. The melancholy which oppressed him when he was twenty often lay heavy on his soul in later years. The acute Jesuit observers emphasize the fact, and explain his eagerness for exciting diversions by the necessity of combating the congenital melancholic temperament.

One of the influences which helped to soothe his troubled spirit was his love of music. In the seventh year of the reign Akbar required the Rājā of Rīwā to surrender Tānsēn, reputed to be the best singer and musician known in India for a thousand years. He was received with great honour, and rewarded with princely generosity. Throughout his life Akbar found constant solace in music, and is said to have attained considerable technical proficiency, especially in playing the *nakkārah* drums. The

Court musicians formed a well-organized and well-paid body.*

In January, 1564, when Akbar happened to be at Delhi, a freedman attempted his life, and succeeded in inflicting with an arrow a flesh wound on his shoulder. The names of the instigators of the crime were sufficiently well known or guessed, but Akbar had special reasons at the time, not altogether creditable, for discouraging investigation. The assailant was killed on the spot, and the matter was allowed to drop.

Akbar steadily advanced his deliberate scheme for bringing all India—or at least all India north of the Nerbudda—under his sway. Foolish panegyrists represent him as making his annexations for the good of mankind.† Such statements are sentimental rubbish. Akbar desired conquest for its own sake, with the gains in power and wealth which were its results. He attacked his neighbours in succession without the slightest regard to the merits of the governments assailed or the wishes of the populations. He was quite honest on the subject, and had no scruple in saying that—

“A monarch should ever be intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him”: and—

“The army should be exercised in warfare, lest from want of training they become self-indulgent.”

In fact, he acted, consciously or unconsciously, in full accord with the Hindu principles, as explained in the ancient *Arthasāstra*, which lays down the propositions—

“Whoever is superior in power shall wage war.”

“Whoever is rising in power may break the agreement of peace.”

“The king who is situated anywhere on the circumference of the conqueror's territory is termed the enemy.”

* In this connection attention may be called to the valuable work entitled *The Music of Hindostan*, published by Mr. Fox Strangways at the Clarendon Press in 1914.

† Both Von Noer and Malleison adopt that erroneous view, and offer laboured and untrue explanations of their hero's wars.

“It is power that brings about peace between any two kings ; no bit of iron that is not made red-hot will combine with another bit of iron.”

Recent experience has forced upon us the recognition of the unpleasant fact that the greatest military State in Europe is not ashamed to shape its policy on the same cynical principles.

Akbar felt no conscientious qualms whatever about initiating an aggressive war, even when it was directed against an excellent ruler, like the famous Queen Durgāvati, in the region now known as the Central Provinces. She was defeated and driven to suicide in order to avoid dishonour worse than death. The females of her household perished in the awful sacrifice or holocaust known as the *jauhar*.*

From 1564 to 1567 Akbar was much troubled by the successive revolts of several powerful nobles belonging to the Uzbeg tribe and the disorders caused by certain distant relatives of his own, known as the Mirzās. Ultimately all the rebels and disturbers of the peace were either killed or turned into loyal subjects by clever, far-seeing policy.

Akbar occasionally, when his temper was roused, permitted himself the unworthy satisfaction of inflicting cruel and prolonged tortures on rebel prisoners. More than one such case is on record. The emperor, as we may now call him, was partly of Turk and partly of Mongol descent, from ancestors on both sides who were prone to the shedding of blood and acts of ruthless ferocity. As a rule, he mastered the inherited tendency to cruelty, which was so horribly conspicuous in his son Jahāngīr, but at times he allowed his resentment to prompt acts at variance with the ordinary course of his conduct. When we read of such incidents with disgust, we should remember that in that age the punishment of treason by death with torture was

* Two of them were taken out alive when the door was opened after four days. No other case of escape from a *jauhar* seems to be on record.

common in both Europe and Asia, and was sanctioned by public opinion. The doctrine that the quickest mode of execution is an adequate penalty for any crime, however heinous, was not accepted anywhere in the sixteenth century.

Akbar's plan for the complete subjugation of northern India involved the systematic reduction of the great fortresses. Mirthā (Merta) in Rājputāna was the first to fall to his officers, early in 1562. He then resolved on the capture of Chītōr in the Mēwār State, now known as Udaipur, which was the stronghold of the Rānā of Mēwār, the acknowledged head of the Rājput chivalry. The difficult siege, which lasted for four months, from October, 1567, to February, 1568, was ended by a shot from Akbar's own musket, by which Jaimall, the heroic young commandant of the town, was killed. The garrison then sacrificed their women in the *janhar*, and prepared for death. Next morning the Mogul army entered through a breach, and 8,000 Rājputs sold their lives as dearly as possible. Akbar, incensed at the stubborn resistance offered to his arms, ordered a general massacre, which resulted in the slaughter of 30,000 out of 40,000 peasants who had assisted in the defence. Udaī Singh, the Rānā, a craven who had deserted his post, escaped the fate of his brethren, and lived a dishonoured life for four years after the fall of the fortress. Years afterwards, when the bitterness of the fierce struggle was no longer felt, and Akbar had become more than half a Hindu, he was chivalrous enough to honour his gallant opponent Jaimall, with his colleague, Pattā, by erecting statues in their honour, which were placed flanking the gateway of the Agra fort. The heroes were represented riding on elephants. When Shahjahān built New Delhi, he removed the elephant groups from Agra, and replaced them at the main entrance of the Delhi fort, where they still stood in impressive majesty in 1666.*

* The proof of these statements is supplied by Bernier, de Thevenot, and De Laet. The fact that the Delhi elephants were removed from Agra is now published for the first time. It is deduced from comparison of the statement of Bernier with that of De Laet.

Some time afterwards Aurangzēb destroyed them, and now nothing remains of them except broken fragments in the Delhi Museum. A well-meant attempt, made by Lord Curzon, to provide substitutes has resulted in failure.

Ranthambhōr, the third of the important fortresses in Rājputāna, capitulated after a brief siege ; and Kālanjar in Bundēlkhand, which had defied Shēr Shāh, surrendered without waiting to be besieged.

Akbar was thus free to undertake his next great military enterprise, the reduction of the wealthy province of Gujarāt in the west, which his father had occupied for a time. The operations (1572-1573) gave the young monarch ample occasion for the display of almost superhuman energy and personal prowess, but time does not permit me to enter into the romantic details. I must be content with a mere enumeration of Akbar's other wars and annexations.

The year 1576 saw a formidable rising in Rājputāna. The Rājput̄s, although defeated at Gogūnda, were never thoroughly subdued.

In the same year the conquest of Bengal was completed by the destruction of Dāūd, the Afghan king of that country. In 1585, the decease of Akbar's brother, Muhammad Hakīm, ruler of Kābul, reunited Afghanistan with the empire. Kashmīr was occupied in 1586-87, and Sind was reduced in 1588-1590. The whole of northern India was thus firmly grasped by the imperial government. Akbar, while engaged on his northern conquests, held his court for about thirteen years (1585-1598) at Lahore. He then turned his eyes towards the Deccan, in the hope of extending his sway over the whole of the peninsula. But he never succeeded in getting farther south than Ahmed-nagar, approximately in the latitude of Bombay. Asīrgarh, the stronghold which commanded the road to the Deccan, and was reputed to be the most formidable fortress in India, fell in January, 1601. That was the last conquest.

The closing years of a victorious life were saddened by the misconduct and ingratitude of Akbar's sons. All three

drank to excess. Two of them, Murād and Dāniyāl, died from the effects of their intemperance, but Salīm, the eldest, who had a stronger constitution, lived to succeed his father. Not content to wait for the appointed time, Salīm rebelled in 1602, and instigated the murder of Akbar's dear friend and counsellor, Abūl Fazl. Those crimes, heinous though they were, received pardon, and Akbar on his deathbed nominated Salīm as his successor by girding him with the sword of Humāyūn, and placing his own turban on his head.

Akbar in middle life had contracted the evil habit of opium-eating, and it is probable that his fatal illness was brought about by that cause. On October 15, 1603, when just sixty-three years of age, he passed away, and Salīm, who assumed the title of Jahāngīr, reigned in his stead.

The stories to the effect that Akbar accidentally poisoned himself by swallowing a pill with which he had intended to destroy a suspected nobleman, are wholly unworthy of credit in my judgment. The dead emperor left in Agra fort alone a treasure of more than twenty million pounds sterling in coin, besides accumulations in six other treasure cities, which must have amounted to at least as great a sum. The total hoard of coined money, therefore, was at least forty millions of pounds sterling, equivalent in purchasing power to not less than two hundred millions to-day. No other prince in the world had anything like such riches.*

I cannot attempt on this occasion to describe Akbar's system of civil and military administration, or discuss the settlement of the land revenue effected by Rājā Todar Mall, or notice the brilliant literary architectural and artistic achievements of the reign. All those subjects are dealt with more or less satisfactorily in easily accessible books. The small balance of time available will be devoted to a summary account of Akbar's personality, and especially of his religious opinions. The material is superabundant,

* See my article, "The Treasure of Akbar," in *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, pp. 231-243.

and little of it can be utilized. The accounts of the Jesuits, who were in intimate association with the emperor from the fortieth year of his age to the end of the reign, are by far the best, and will be chiefly followed.

Akbar is described as being handsome according to the standard of the Tartars, of medium stature (I should say about 5 feet 6 inches in height), with a frame strong and well-knit, long arms, and legs slightly bowed inwards. His forehead was spacious, his voice loud, and his small, flat eyes sparkled, denoting the incessant activity of his brain. Peruschi gives the details of his dress in 1582 as follows :

“ He wears on his head a turban, and his garments are interwoven with gold ; his tunic goes down to the knees. His hose covers the heels, with trunk after our fashion ; he uses a certain odd kind of shoes, an invention of his own. His head is adorned with great pearls which run round his forehead. He always keeps at his side a dagger, and sometimes a sword or scimitar ; or, at least, keeps it close by, ready to his hand, and he has continually around him guards and armed men. . . . He likes to dress in the Spanish rather than in the Turkish style ; but in private he wears Portuguese costume, usually of black silk. . . . He is a man who does not lay himself out to obtain credit by splendour or external display in dress, court, or otherwise. In eating he is ordinary and simple to a notable degree, although forty or fifty meats are brought to his table, all in covered dishes and vessels imported from China. Each of them has a napkin wrapped round it and tied, which is sealed with the seal of the head cook, and they are carried by as many pages, preceding the carver and chamberlain.”

Akbar himself tells us that from his earliest years he felt a distaste for flesh food, and that if it had been possible he should have been glad to prohibit the eating of meat. In the latter part of his life he confined himself chiefly to vegetable and fruit diet, and issued various regulations like

those of Asoka, limiting the slaughter of animals and the consumption of flesh.

All observers agree in praising the charm of his manners and the acuteness of his mind.

"This King," Peruschi says, "is a man of excellent parts, with much judgment, patience, and intelligence, exceedingly sagacious, while at the same time displaying affability as great as that of any King. He is, moreover, very magnanimous and generous, so that if his prudence, magnanimity, and equally conspicuous valour be considered, nothing more can be desired. He is pleasant mannered, intimate, and kindly, while still preserving his gravity and sternness. He is much inclined to what is good, and is friendly to people of all nations; but especially to the Christians, some of whom he likes to have always near him.

"There is nothing that he does not know how to do, whether matters of war, or of administration, or of any mechanical art. Wherefore he takes particular delight in making guns and founding or modelling cannon. Guns and swords are made in the palace itself. Likewise, he has a clear understanding, and is skilled in disputations concerning laws and various sects, which excite his interest and curiosity to a remarkable degree. The greatest wonder of all is that this King does not know letters; he does not even know the alphabet or first rudiments.

"Nevertheless, he is the friend of learned men, of whom he always keeps a dozen near him, who commonly lay before him diverse questions for his consideration, and continually dispute about some new matter which they put forward; or, instead, relate various histories which enable him to acquire prudence and knowledge of diverse subjects."

Father Jerome Xavier, who was intimate with Akbar at a later date, gives him the praise so rarely due to a prince engaged in high affairs of State by saying that—"In truth he was great with the great and lowly with the lowly."

“He never gave anybody the chance to understand rightly his inmost sentiments or to know what faith or religion he held by. . . . And in all business this was the characteristic manner of King Akbar—a man apparently free from mystery and guile, as honest and candid as could be imagined ; but in reality so close and self-contained, with twists of words and deeds so divergent one from the other, and most times so contradictory, that even by much seeking one could not find the clue to his thoughts. Thus it often happened that a person comparing him to-day with what he was yesterday could find no resemblance ; and even an attentive observer, after long and familiar intercourse with him, knew no more of him on the last day than he had known on the first. . . .” The writer then comments on “the action of that peculiar mind of his, concerning which no man can divine whether it was the work of nature or the result of studied training.”

Up to the year 1575, the thirty-third of his age, Akbar was to all appearance an orthodox Sunnī Musalman. He was assiduous in visits to the shrines of the saints, and professed a desire to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. He said himself at some time late in his life :

“Formerly I persecuted men into conformity with my faith and deemed it Islām. As I grew in knowledge, I was overwhelmed with shame. Not being a Muslim myself, it was unmeet to force others to become such. What constancy is to be expected from proselytes on compulsion ?”

Before finally breaking away from the religion of the Prophet, he tried to bring it under his own sovereign control by compelling the Ulamā, or leading theologians, to issue, in 1579, the celebrated decree which placed the emperor in the position of a Pope. That document empowered Akbar to give a binding decision concerning any theological question on which the doctors were at variance, and, further, to issue any new order he might think fit, provided it were “in accordance with some verse of the Koran, and also of real benefit to the nation.” It was further

declared that "any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of property and religious privileges in this." The final clause, it will be observed, was not in harmony with his professed doctrine of universal toleration.

A few years later Akbar had not only ceased to believe in the revelation of the Prophet, but had become actively hostile to it.

Peruschi, writing in 1597, on the basis of letters dated 1592 and 1595, from the point of view of a Jesuit missionary, states that Akbar "greatly abhors and holds in abomination the Muhammadan sect—as being a person who has already laid bare and well knows its falsity and great deceit, being fully resolved to try and change it; and so he has reduced to ruins all the mosques of his countries and turned them into stables and places for the basest offices." Akbar, not content with those outrages on the faith of his youth, caused forty or fifty boars to fight before him on every Friday, the Muhammadan Sabbath, forbade children to be named Muhammad, and so forth. Those deliberate insults to the Muhammadan religion involved the practical abnegation of the doctrine of toleration, and are, in my judgment, the worst blot on Akbar's character. It is a marvel that he did not lose his throne, and the fact that he did not is the best possible proof of the extraordinary personal authority which he exercised over the minds of men. Earlier in his reign his unorthodox innovations had caused unrest, and had helped to bring about a rebellion in Bengal and an invasion by his brother of Kābul, but the gross outrages which he committed on Islām in his later years seem to have been submitted to passively.

The books dealing with Akbar usually devote considerable space to the eclectic religion which he invented, and called the *Dīn Ilāhī*, or Divine Religion. It was supposed to be the quintessence of the best in all the religions which he had studied, laying stress on the unity of God and

the position of the Pādshāh as the Divine vicegerent. Akbar was foolish enough to believe that such an invention could be set up by the imperial authority as a substitute for the existing religions, and that it might be accepted as a bond of union throughout the empire. That was a mad dream. The new creed was accepted by a few time-serving courtiers, who pledged life, property, honour, and religion, to the service of the emperor, but it never attained any real vogue, and probably was practically extinct even before Akbar's death. Too much importance has been attached to the freak of an autocrat corrupted by the uncontrolled exercise of despotic power for many years.

Akbar first made acquaintance with Christian doctrine in 1576, and became so much interested in the subject that he sent to Goa for learned priests to give him instruction. The Goanese authorities readily accepted the invitation, and had lively hopes of converting the emperor and his realm. Three missions were despatched successively in 1580, 1590, and 1595. The second was a complete failure, but the first, under Father Ridolfo Aquaviva, obtained a certain measure of success, and has left most fascinating records. The third mission, presided over by Father Jerome Xavier, continued its work after Akbar's decease. The missionaries' letters, from which I have made some small quotations, are full of interesting matter, but the subject is more than enough for a lecture to itself, and I cannot say more now.

Akbar merely played with his guests. He delighted in paying them honours of various kinds, and even attended church services. "He has," writes Xavier, "images of our Lord Christ and the Blessed Virgin . . . and he keeps them with respect and reverence. . . . One day he came to our service, and while we recited the litanies he remained like a Christian Prince, with his knees bent and his hands clasped. He spent no little time in observing carefully our pictures, and inquired regarding the mysteries which they portray.' But he never really intended to become a Chris-

tian, and went on to the end seeking without finding a creed to suit him. He was consumed by insatiable curiosity, but was an inveterate rationalist incapable of accepting any form of religion claiming to be a revelation.

I must not trespass further on your patience. Although I have ventured to indicate that it is a mistake to regard Akbar as perfect, I do not wish to leave the impression of being insensible to his real greatness. His deeds as a conqueror and administrator are manifest to the most superficial student, and are sufficiently commemorated in the current histories of his reign. He founded, or at least refounded, the Mogul Empire, which received from him life and vigour enough to endure as a great power for a century after his death. He had the broad views of a true, far-seeing statesman, and knew how to choose, use, and keep loyal servants. His policy of impartial toleration was all his own, and if he had adhered to it in his later days, the glory of that policy alone would have been enough to entitle him to deathless fame. Personally, he was one of the most kingly of kings, and his superlative qualities enabled him to keep a firm hand upon the sceptre even to the end. His aberrations must be viewed in proper perspective, and should be regarded as only spots on the sun.

The stately eulogy pronounced by Wordsworth on a forgotten hero may fitly serve as Akbar's epitaph :

"Yet shall thy name, conspicuous and sublime,
Stand in the spacious firmament of time,
Fixed as a star ; such glory is thy right."

NOTES.

The following authorities have been used in the preparation of this lecture :

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BADĀONĪ (Abdul Kādir), *Muntakhab-ut-tawārikh*, vol. ii., transl. Lowe. Calcutta, 1884.

NIZÂM-UD DÎN AHMAD, *Tabakât-i-Akbarî*, in Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. v. London, 1873.

PERUSCHI, *Informatione del Regno et Stato del Gran Re di Mogor*. Zannetti, Roma, 1597. A very rare tract, of which I possess a copy.

BARTOLI, *Missione al Gran Mogor del Padre Ridolfo Aquaviva*. Salvioni, Roma, 1714, of which the first edition was published in 1663.

MACLAGAN, "Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar," in *J.A.S.B.*, part 1., vol. lxx. 1896.

BERNIER, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, transl. and ed. Constable and V. A. Smith. London, 1914.

DE THEVENOT, *Travels into the Levant*, part iii., transl. Lovell. London, 1687.

P. VAN DEN BRÛCKE, "Fragmentum Historiæ Indiæ," "e genuino illius Regni chronico expressum," in DE LAET, *De Imperio Magni Mogolis sive India Vera*. Elzevir, 1631.

FOX STRANGWAYS, *The Music of Hindostan*. Oxford, 1914.

Most readers will find all they want about the Christian missions in Sir E. D. MacLagan's admirable treatise above cited, which is most interesting reading.

Another good book on the subject, and cheap, is GOLDIE, *The First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul* (Gill and Son, Dublin, 1897, price 1s. 6d.), which gives some additional documents.

Students are advised to examine the *Akbarnāmah* pictures, exhibited in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, May 10, 1915, when a paper entitled "Akbar, the Great Mogul (1542-1605): His Life, Character, and Opinions," was read by Mr. Vincent Arthur Smith, M.A., I.C.S. (retired). The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, LL.D., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Krishna Gobinda Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir John Stanley, K.C.I.E., and Lady Stanley, Sir Duncan C. Baillie, K.C.S.I., Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Frederick S. Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Frederick William Duke, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Duncan Macpherson, C.I.E., Mr. Thomas Stoker, C.S.I., Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mrs. Ameer Ali, Mr. W. Ameer Ali, Mr. P. Phillipowsky, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. R. Sewell, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Colonel T. Holbein Hendley, C.I.E., the Rev. W. E. W. Denham, Mr. G. L. Bruce, Major Skene Thomson, Miss Cust, Miss Ashworth, Miss A. A. Smith, Captain Amar Singh, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mrs. Kinneir Tarte, Mr. F. W. Thomas, Mr. F. H. Brown, Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. Syud Hossain, Captain Stanley Clarke, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Mr. C. E. Pollak, Mr. J. C. Nicholson, Mr. M. Khan, Mrs. Whalley Wickham, Mr. D. Singh, Mr. M. A. Hassanally, Lady Upcott, Mr. M. A. Majid, Mr. C. A. Latif, Professor Bickerton, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Mr. J. W. Neill, Miss R. Powell, Mrs. Tucker, Miss Bruster, Miss Evans, Mrs. Hole, Mr. and Mrs. Stotherd, Mrs. Grose, Mrs. Barber, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. West, Mr. H. Kelway Bamber, M.V.O., and Mrs. Bamber, Mr. J. F. Barling Fisher, Miss Andrews, Miss Ross, Miss Meade, Mrs. E. Gordon Farquharson, Mr. E. B. Tabak, Mr. Percy Marsh, Mrs. W. J. Hardy, Colonel M. F. H. McCausland, Miss B. K. Taylor, Miss E. G. Henry, Mrs. Fitzroy Mundy, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it is usual on these occasions for the chairman to say a few words by way of introducing the lecturer.

Much preamble, however, is not needed in this instance; Mr. Vincent Smith has written a good deal on India and on the subject on which he is going to lecture this evening, and is too well known in the world of literature to require introduction. I therefore do not propose to say any more about him, but there is one matter I think right to mention, and that is that the subject of the lecture to-day must have special interest to all who are connected with the administration of India, for I believe the British Government is at this moment working on the legacy Akbar left behind him. (Hear, hear.)

I will now call on the lecturer to read his paper.

The lecture was then read.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, although the chairman is supposed to be entitled to transgress the limit which he imposes on other members of the audience, you may rest assured I shall be very brief in the few remarks I wish to offer on the subject of the excellent lecture we have just heard. You will agree with me that it has proved, as I anticipated, a most interesting discourse on a most interesting personality. I quite realize the difficulty experienced by the lecturer in condensing the history of one of the greatest Sovereigns India has produced into the short compass of a lecture extending over an hour or less. He has naturally gone to European authors for his picture of the life of Akbar, which he has given us with such vividness of detail; he has also commented on the want of critical histories of his reign, with special reference to the European authorities. I think it would interest him to know that at this moment we possess a work by a learned Musalman writer of Lahore, which is an excellent history of Akbar's reign and the men of his *entourage*; it is called the "Court of Akbar," and is written in the Urdu language. The other histories to which Mr. Vincent Smith has referred also require consideration; written by the contemporaries of Akbar who came in frequent contact with him, they ought, in my opinion, to be read in conjunction with the European authors. You must not, however, carry away the impression that before Akbar came there were no great Sovereigns in India who had the same ideals as Akbar. As a matter of fact, there were several who worked to promote the welfare of their people with the same enthusiasm and the same devotion to duty. Among these stands prominently the name of the first Queen who reigned in India in her own right. Razia Sultan, the daughter of Altamsh, is depicted by a contemporary historian as a Sovereign most intent on the welfare of all classes of her subjects, both Hindus and Muhammadans. Akbar's greatness consists in the fact that he was the first to realize the necessity of uniting the two races and the two religions over whom he was called upon to rule in a common bond of sympathy and interest. The idea is said to have been given to his father by the Persian monarch with whom he had taken refuge when forced to leave India by the army of Shēr Shāh; but it was left to Akbar to carry into execution the great ideal for the accomplishment of which he laboured with that enthusiasm which has been explained by the lecturer this evening. Before long he did away with all differential treatment. Please remember that was at a time when persecution was rife in

Europe, and heretics were still being burnt in Spain. The massacre of St. Bartholomew occurred shortly after Akbar's abolition of the capitation tax on the Hindus. The Catholics were still under the ban in England, and the whole of Europe was immersed in one of the most sanguinary sectarian wars known in history. Of course, the cruelties that were practised in Europe form no palliation for cruelties in India, but at the same time you must bear in mind that Akbar was probably the most tolerant Sovereign of the time in the world. (Hear, hear) The *Ain Akbari*, the institutes of Akbar, reads like a modern record; the details relating to the welfare of the peasantry and to the assessment of revenue, the statistical details and the directions relating to the entries in the village administration papers which are still in force and still bear the same names, differentiate the work of Akbar from all that had gone before. I will give you one instance of what was done under this great Sovereign. In the Province of Orissa, which was ruled by the Afghans until its conquest by Akbar's General, there was absolute disorder in all matters concerning revenue. The peasantry were ground to the earth by vexatious exactions. Todar Mal, the great revenue administrator of Akbar, made the first general assessment of Orissa soon after its acquisition. The tract which he settled was the plain lying between the hills of Sambalpur and the jungles and marshy lands of the coast, and that tract was known from 1585 until well into the middle of the nineteenth century as the *Mogalbandi*—the settled province of the Moguls.

Although absolutely illiterate, Akbar's love of learning was unbounded. Under his orders both Arabic and Sanskrit classics were translated into Persian. Badâuni, the historian to whom the lecturer referred—not a very appreciative critic of Akbar—translated the *Mahabhârata* and *Ramâyana* in conjunction with the Poet Laureate Faizi, the accomplished brother of Abul Fazl, Akbar's great Minister. The "*Baital Pachisi*," the Hindu story of the "King and the Vampyre," was rendered into Persian under the name of "*Khîrad Afroz*." The Arabic Geographical Encyclopedia of Yâkut was similarly brought to the knowledge of the Emperor. Akbar also established a College of Musicians and a Philosophical Society, in which problems relating to religion, science and philosophy used to be discussed with the greatest freedom.

Some comment has been made by the lecturer on the falling off of Akbar from the Mussalman religion. I think it right to remind you that Akbar ascended the throne about the close of the tenth century of the Hegira. At this time the idea was rife, certainly in India, that the Mahdi was soon to appear in the world. Similar ideas had prevailed, as you know, in Christendom as to the advent of Christ. Many pretenders appeared in consequence, and they were treated with considerable harshness by the ecclesiastics of Islam in India, and this revolted the tolerant mind of Akbar. At the same time there arose on the borders of India a peculiar cult which was the exact counterpart of that professed by the people who were called the "*Illuminati*" in Europe. Even the name was the same—the "*Roushenia*." All these conceptions floating in the mind of a man who was not cultured enough to sift them properly led to his giving way to

fancies and ideas which were not consonant with the religion in which he had been brought up ; and his attempt to introduce a new religion with the object of forcing the two creeds which he had been called upon to rule to come on one common platform ended in failure.

Akbar was most liberal in his views with regard to the liberty of women ; he established in Delhi the institution of *Mina Bazar*, or *Ladies' Fancy Fair*. It was at one of these bazars that Prince Selim, afterwards *Jehangir*, met his favourite Queen, who has been immortalized by Tom Moore. In the time of Akbar tobacco was introduced in Northern India ; his envoy to the King of *Bijapur*, who has left a record of the incident, brought some tobacco and pipes from the southern Musalman capital, and tried to initiate his Sovereign into the mysteries of smoking, but the Court physician was obdurate, and refused to permit the tractable Sovereign to try something which was not mentioned in his works ; but although Akbar, in obedience to the dictates of the physician, refused to smoke, he permitted his nobles to do so.

I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, not to fail to give a most hearty recognition to Mr. Vincent Smith for the interesting discourse you have heard ; but before I put it to the vote I will ask if any member wishes to speak on the subject of the lecture.

MR. YUSUF ALI said the subject was a fascinating one to every student of history, and had been admirably treated by one whose name was well known as a writer on Indian history. He had fortunately given them a list of his authorities, and the interest awakened by the paper would tempt many of them into that most interesting episode in Indian history. It seemed to him that Akbar did not found a school either of political philosophy or of religious thought, he was the middle member of a Dynasty, and practically inherited very little by way of tradition from his predecessors in the art of governing, and he certainly did not have his ideas taken up and developed by his successors. When he came to the throne there was practically no Mogul kingdom ; he succeeded practically to the empire and organization founded by Shēr Shāh. The policy of toleration whose origin the paper attributed to Akbar was frequently anticipated, as the Chairman had pointed out, amongst the Indian Muhammadan Sovereigns, and by none more remarkably than by Shēr Shāh himself. It was a Hindu general, Hemu, who led the armed forces of Shēr Shāh's successor against Akbar's own guardian. He (the speaker) had had the privilege of living in the provinces which were the chief field of Shēr Shāh's activities, and of the activities of the earlier Pathan kingdom of Jaunpur. He had seen the great architectural works and the noble public buildings which were erected ; in fact, a bridge still existed which was built about the time of Akbar but carried on the earlier Pathan traditions. It seemed to him that the native Muhammadan dynasty of Shēr Shāh did found a school of political and administrative thought whose results were utilized in the system of Akbar. Suddenly, however, with the rise to power of his son, they found almost the whole of his policy reversed and most of the great experiments that had been made in the arts of administration and organization were practically swept away. The splendid Muhammadan revenue system, which was the

foundation of the British revenue system, was practically in abeyance in those later years of the Mogul Empire, and the policy of enlisting the services of the Hindus was very much obscured and almost forgotten in the accompanying chaos. The traditions of Akbar's rule and policy were almost obliterated from the policy of the Central Government of Delhi; but the policy of the local dynasties continued the tradition, and one might almost say that the torch of administration which Akbar lighted only lived through the work of the minor dynasties and families, of which one got some remarkable glimpses in the local history of the districts of the United Provinces. With regard to the remarks made by the lecturer as to Akbar's religion, he thought he had laid undue emphasis on the interpretation of those views given by the Jesuit missionaries. Those missionaries were placed in a somewhat awkward predicament. They had hoped to make a proselyte of Akbar, and thought that his provinces would become great Catholic countries, but when they found that he declined to come into the pale of their religious ideas, and branched off into a line of his own, they became very bitter. The picture of Akbar's views, as drawn by the Jesuit missionaries, must therefore be taken with some qualification. The same remark applied to the Orthodox Muhammadan historians, who were shocked by Akbar's eclecticism. In spite of their criticisms, they gave occasional glimpses of Akbar's true views, but an impartial account of his religious views must be compounded from the impressions to be gleaned from all the contemporary authorities—from the Musalman and non-Musalman attacks as well as from the great writings of those who followed or initiated his system. There was a book, the "*Dabistan-i-Mazaheb*," which gave an account of all the religious sects known in India. It was written a generation or two after Akbar, and described in detail Akbar's Ilāhī system. It was entitled to credence, because the author himself was colourless in his own views. (Hear, hear.) Akbar made many innovations, but, in spite of all, he must be looked upon as a Reformer in Islam.

LADY MUIR MACKENZIE said that she had been so inspired by Mr. Smith's writings that she had written a little article about the three great Emperors, who seemed to her to be so much alike in policy and in their tolerance for all religions. One was Asoka, who tried to make men equal, and even advocated the rights of animals; and then came Akbar, who would not have any religion persecuted, finally came the first English Emperor of India, Albert Edward, who proclaimed that no religion should be persecuted in India, and that all men should have their chance in the political sphere. She wished to thank the Lecturer for his beautiful writings on India which had helped her so much.

MR. SYUD HOSSAIN said he wished to express his appreciation of the admirable lecture. Mr. Smith was well known as one of those scholars who had brought not only great ability, but, what was much rarer, a great sympathy, into his interpretation and study of Indian history, and his announcement of at last bringing to fruition his long-cherished project of an adequate account of the life and times of Akbar would be welcomed. The lecture had of necessity been somewhat discursive, as also the dis-

cussion, but there was a profound remark made by the Chairman he would like to refer to—viz., that a study of the life and institutions of Akbar was a matter of very great practical importance at the present day, as the whole tendency of British rule appeared to be approximating more and more to the lines originally laid down by Akbar, and therefore a study of the history of his administration had more than a merely academic interest for those who were concerned in the future of British rule in India. As Lady Muir Mackenzie had said, there was an extraordinary parallel between the policy of Akbar and that adopted by the British Government in regard to the principle of religious neutrality in India. An extension of this parallelism naturally suggested itself regarding the political equality that Akbar introduced into his administration of the country. Akbar ruled not as a conqueror or an invader, but as one who tried to be one of the people himself, and to weld the various sections of the population over which he ruled into a united Indian community, and from that point of view a great deal yet remained to be achieved by the British rulers of India to-day. At one of their meetings not long ago a distinguished speaker, while instituting a comparison between the Moghul and the British rule in India, rightly pointed out how the long memories of the peasants of India enabled them to be grateful for the blessings of peace which British rule had brought in its train contrasted with the chaos of an earlier day. But the national memory of India could not also help recalling at the present time that under Akbar the highest careers were open to all, and both Hindus and Muhammadans could and did rise to be Generals in the Indian Army, whereas under British rule Indians were still denied the great privilege of holding His Majesty's Commission, and were patiently waiting to be granted the opportunity of serving the King-Emperor in positions of real responsibility and trust, and on a basis of self-respecting and honourable co-operation with their British fellow-subjects which would exclude the suggestion of racial inferiority. That was an illustration of the headway that still remained to be made towards bringing existing administrative practice more into conformity with the ideals of Akbar.

MR. LESLIE MOORE said he would like to make one remark with reference to the last speaker's statement about Akbar ruling India not as a conqueror: had not the lecturer pointed to the incident of Queen Durgavati being driven to commit suicide to protect herself from what was worse than death—namely, dishonour; and to another case where 8,000 Rajput soldiers were killed; and from anger at their stubborn resistance 30,000 out of 40,000 peasants were massacred when Akbar entered Chitor after the siege. Could anyone in the room point to similar incidents during the spread of British rule over India? The speech of Mr. Yusuf Ali was much to the point when he said Akbar tried to combine his own ideas, thoughts and principles with those obtaining in other religions, so as to make a universal religion for all. He adopted from Islam the idea of the unity of God, from Hinduism the conception of the universal presence of the deity, from Christianity the principles of brotherly kindness towards all mankind, and from Zoroastrianism the symbol of the sun as representing the Supreme Being.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I will now put to you the vote which I proposed at the beginning—that is, a vote of thanks to Mr. Vincent Smith for the admirable lecture he has given us this evening. It is not necessary for me to make any further observations, but in view of the remarks that have fallen from one of the speakers, I would like to say that it is no use comparing Akbar's deeds or misdeeds with the deeds of the present rulers of the world. (Hear, hear.) We have to compare age with age, and if we go to Central Europe of those days—or, for the matter of that, any other place—I think we shall find ample record of similar cruelties.

The LECTURER in reply said that at that late hour he could not attempt to go into details. He would like to ask Lady Muir Mackenzie to be good enough to send him a copy of the article she referred to, and also to ask the chairman to send him particulars of that Urdu history of Akbar. Mr. Yusuf Ali had said a good deal about Shēr Shāh and the Jaunpur Kings, but he thought if he looked up his dates he would find that chronologically he had got a good deal mixed. Another point made was that Akbar continued to be a Musalman, and merely tried to improve his conception of Islam, but he said himself he was not a Musalman, and he ought to know! That was taken from his "Happy Sayings," and was recorded by Abul Fazl, his secretary, as quoted in the paper. There were many other interesting points raised, but it was too late to deal with them.

SIR KRISHNA GUPTA, in seconding the vote of thanks, said they would all agree they had had a most instructive lecture. The life of Akbar had always had a fascination for him. A great deal had been said as to the toleration of Akbar, and attempts had been made to show that that policy was not entirely his own, but whether it was so or not he had certainly upheld that policy to a remarkable extent. They had also had some heated discussion as to how far the British Government had followed Akbar in the matter of treating the different races alike. There was a great deal of truth in what the speakers had said on the subject, but they must all admit that the British Government had not yet gone to the extent that Akbar did in the matter of making equal use of Hindus and Muslims in the higher military services, and he thought that after the war was over they would have to reconsider the position and take into account the loyal services of the Indians. (Hear, hear.)

MR. ABBAS ALI BAIG, in supporting the vote of thanks, said that with regard to what had been said about the cruelties that used to be practised, the state of Europe in those days must be borne in mind. In that age cruelties wore a quite different aspect, when men were burned alive, etc., and, in his opinion, compared with that state of things, the toleration of Akbar was rather striking.

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL, in supporting the vote of thanks to the Chairman, said it had occurred to him what a most marvellous change had been wrought on the web of history during the last three hundred years, now that the great Empire of Akbar had been as it were amalgamated with that of this little island, of which he could have known but little, and when they had present that afternoon two distinguished members

of his race and creed coming to this far country to assist in carrying out the government of India, the one by holding one of the highest judicial positions in the land, and the other with a seat in the Secretary of State's Council of India, where also a Hindu gentleman then present had sat as Vice-President. He saw also in the meeting in the King-Emperor's uniform a member of the Jodhpur branch of the great Rajput race with whom Akbar had such varied experience, and across a narrow sea were thousands of Indian soldiers fighting for this combined Empire to subdue the common enemy of all.

The vote of thanks on being put to the meeting was carried with acclamation.

The proceedings then terminated.

The following letter and note has been received by the Hon. Secretary :

May 19, 1915.

SIR,

In the discussion on Mr. Vincent Smith's paper on Akbar, I dealt with two points—viz., (1) Whether Akbar's policy of toleration and conciliation was peculiar to himself in India, and (2) whether Akbar in his religious views formally relinquished the fold of Islam. There was not much time to allow of the elaboration of the argument. Mr. Vincent Smith's remarks, in his reply, show that I failed to make my meaning clear on either point, and I venture to send you a few remarks now in writing to supplement what I then said.

As to the first point, the example I gave of Shēh Shāh shows that the Afghan dynasty which held sway during a short interval before Akbar carried out the policy of conciliation to such an extent that their supreme military commander was a Hindu. Other instances could be cited before and after the time of Akbar. The dates are immaterial. Akbar's successors on the throne of Delhi may have been too indolent or too narrow to develop or even continue that policy, but it *was* continued by local rulers in many places, notably in Oudh. The Kings of Oudh made no distinction between Hindus and Musalmans in their Court, and when the reaction against their deposition came in the Mutiny, Hindu chiefs like the Raja of Gonda sacrificed their all for a family which was certainly not very ancient, but which, with all its numerous faults, had grounded itself in the affections of the people, Hindu and Musalman.

As to Akbar's religion, my point was that Akbar made many innovations, and even introduced fantastic forms of worship ; but he did not formally renounce Islam. His Din-i-Ilāhi must be treated as a sect, in the same way as the Mo'tazila sect, or the Ismaili sect, or the Raushania sect. It is so treated in the "Dabistan" of Mohsin Fāni, an author who was born eight or ten years after Akbar's death, and who must have conversed with many people who had actually been at Akbar's Court. The "Dabistan" contains a very full account of Akbar's system. It first gives in chapter x. a dramatic account of the disputations held under Akbar's presidency, and concludes with "the Sayings of His Majesty dwelling in the Seventh

Heaven." A careful study shows that Akbar's innovations were chiefly political; he wanted to organize a Church wholly subservient to the State, and, in fact, obtained a Fatwa conferring upon him a position analogous to that held by the Pope in Christianity.

Akbar did in the established Muslim Church of India exactly what Henry VIII. did in the Catholic Church of Rome, and Akbar was no more outside the pale of Islam than was Henry VIII. outside the pale of Christianity. The document by which Akbar assumed the headship of the Church in India is given in full in Badáoni, and a translation will be found at pp. 186-87 of Blochmann's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (vol. 1.). A passage in this document runs thus:

"We declare that the King of Islam, Amir of the Faithful, shadow of God in this world, Abul Fatah Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Padishah i Ghazi, whose kingdom God perpetuate, is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing King."

This document was promulgated in A.H. 987 (A.D. 1579), and was the starting-point of the new Erastianism. Akbar started for State purposes the formula: "There is no God but God, and Akbar is God's representative." There is no necessary opposition between this and the Muslim Kalima, or even Muslim doctrine, though it implies a gloss which indicates Akbar's attitude towards the Millennial ideas of his time. The thousand years of Islam were coming to fulfilment, and many sects and individuals were putting forward their own ideas as to what would happen after the Millennium. Mr. Ameer Ali in his Presidential speech made this perfectly clear, and this idea constantly appears in all the literature of the time. Akbar's Millennial idea was that he was the Mahdi prophesied, the *Sáhib-i-Zamán*, who would remove all differences among the seventy-two sects of Islam. Badáoni refers to the numerous pamphlets and writings put forward in support of this in A.H. 988-992. Such innovations, and the almost complete supersession of the ceremonial law of Islam, naturally gave great offence to Badáoni the historian who belonged to the Orthodox Church. It will be noticed, however, that Badáoni throws the blame on Abul Fazl, whose evil influence, according to him, "seduced" Akbar. Abul Fazl had been Badáoni's successful rival in Akbar's favour, and we can understand that Badáoni's pen is dipped in gall, and can allow for many exaggerations due to the double motive—his personal and his religious bias.

Take a parallel instance, that of the religious reformers known as the Covenanters of Scotland. They spoke of Anglicanism as "a limb of Anti-Christ," and Episcopalians as "Amalekites," who deserved and received no quarter. But we do not therefore look upon James I. and Charles I. as having renounced Christianity. No more should Akbar be held up at the bar of History as a non-Muslim, because he saw through the hollowness of the orthodoxy of his time, renounced the ceremonial law (which in fact is observed by very few Muslims at the present day), and acted on his own ideas of inspiration and politico-religious reconstruction, flattered and encouraged by deists and rationalists of his Court. All these features can be paralleled from the practices and doctrines of other unorthodox sects and individuals in Islam.

Blochmann has written a valuable note on the religious views of Akbar (see his "Ain-i-Akbari," vol. i., pp. 167-213), consisting mainly of passages from Badāoni. The late Professor Rehatsek published in Bombay, in 1866, a little pamphlet on what he calls the "Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Eslám," also consisting mainly of extracts from Badāoni. I have shown why Badāoni and the Orthodox Muslim historians should be taken with some qualification, owing to their obvious religious bias. The Jesuit missionaries, too, are not independent witnesses, as they have a religious bias of a different kind, about which I spoke in my speech.

But what about Akbar's own words? Blochmann (at p. 211 of the volume above referred to) has collected references to all the passages in the Ain-i-Akbari, but I claim that they support my view. Although Abul Fazl is not exactly Akbar, we may take it that the *Ain* gives as accurate a picture of Akbar's own views and ordinances as it is possible to get. But the book, besides containing Akbar's ordinances, has at the end a collection of His Majesty's "Happy Sayings." One of these has been quoted by Mr. Vincent Smith in his paper (p. 18) to show that Akbar did not consider himself a Muslim. Unfortunately the words "not being a Muslim myself" are a mistranslation. I will transcribe the Persian text as printed by Blochmann (p. 231) :

"Pishtar mardum rá ba zor dar kish i khud mi áwardim wa án rá Musalmáni mi shumardim. Chún ágahi afzúid, ba sharmindagi dar shudim. Khud Musalmán ná shuda dígari ra bar án dáshtan ná sazú. Wa án chih ba zor mígírand, kai nám-i dindári gírad?"

The words *án rá Musalmáni mi shumardim* are in the manuscript which Blochmann followed. I have looked up all the manuscripts of the "Ain-i-Akbar" in the India Office, and all but one agree in reading: *Án rá MUSALMAN mi shumardim*. This should undoubtedly be the correct reading, and I offer the following translation of the passage for consideration :

"Formerly I used to force men into my way of thinking, and such a [proselyte] I looked upon as a Musulman. As knowledge grew I was filled with shame. [For anyone] not being a Musulman to draw others into that [path] was not fitting. What they are forced to accept, how can it be called religion?"

To understand the context, read the three preceding sayings. The true spiritual guide is not one who insists on formalism or outward rites ; guidance is showing the way, not gathering disciples, to make a true disciple is to instruct in the service of God, not to produce a worshipper of oneself. These sentences are aimed at the religious dignitaries whom Akbar saw around him. Their converts he used to think Muslims, but further knowledge shattered all his illusions. If even the teachers did not believe in what they taught, was it not shameful that they should teach others ? It is the same argument as is amplified in "Piers the Ploughman"—hirelings teaching what they do not know or believe.

Refer to a later saying of Akbar reported at p. 237, line 8, of the original Persian (Blochmann's edition). Akbar there speaks of *paigambar i má*,

"Our Prophet," in referring to the Prophet Muhammad (p. 390 of Jarrett's translation). This completely bears out my proposition that Akbar was a reformer in Islam, and did not wish to be regarded as outside its pale, however much he fought against all the formalism and ceremonial rites of the orthodox Muslim Church of his day.

This letter has grown very long, but I must not omit to refer to the statement in Jehangir's Memoirs about Akbar's dying in the orthodox faith. This is rejected by Blochmann, though accepted by Elphinstone in his history. However that may be, the story shows that Akbar's breach with the Church did not amount to a formal repudiation of Islam, but merely a difference of opinion as to how the Millennial issue should be approached. Akbar went in for a complete reconstruction, but could not carry the Church with him.

(Signed) A. YUSUF ALI.

NOTE

June 9, 1915.

I venture to make a few remarks on Mr. Vincent A. Smith's interesting lecture. To me it seems to be the best-balanced account that we have of the great Emperor Akbar. It shows him as he really was—a badly-educated, passionate despot, full of grand and liberal ideas.

But there are some points of detail in which, I think, Mr. Smith is in error. Thus, at p. 37, he speaks of our being able to watch by the bedside of the dying monarch, etc. But the account to which he refers (see p. 48) is a faked one, being given in the spurious Memoirs translated by Price. Nothing in these Memoirs can be relied upon. Rien's verdict is conclusive on this point. The real fact is that Jehangir was excluded from the palace at the time when his father was dying, and saw and heard nothing directly.

There is a reference to Akbar's putting his turban on Jehangir's head at Fethpūr Sikrī in the genuine Memoirs. But I am not sure if the translation is right, and if it is not Selīm Chislī who put his turban on the boy's head. But even if Akbar be meant, the occurrence was long before Akbar's death, and in 1572.

P. 41. It is true that Firīz Shah had a Brahman burned, but the incident is told by Shams Siraj (I am writing away from books, and am not sure of the name), and is not "related with pride by Firīz Shah in a tract written by himself." Firīz Shah does speak of his punishing heretics, especially Muhammadan heretics, but he does not mention the Brahman story.

P. 42. Mr. Smith insists upon regarding the date given by Janhar in one or more manuscripts for Akbar's birth as being correct. But the evidence the other way is overwhelming, and it appears from a translation of Janhar in the Elbert MSS. in the British Museum that at least one manuscript gives the date corresponding to October 15. Janhar was an old and uneducated man, and supposing that he did put a date corresponding to November, it is of no value against the testimony of Abul Fazl and others. I believe there is no authority in Janhar or elsewhere for the statement

that a false official date was adopted to protect the child from necromancers. The child was then the offspring of a banished king, and not of importance enough to make falsification necessary or advisable.

P. 46. I am not aware that Akbar had special reasons, not altogether creditable, for discouraging investigation.

P. 50. There is no evidence that Akbar took opium to excess. He drank wine.

P. 54. "Places for the basest offices." Pemschi does not say so. The letter is from E. Pinero, and only speaks of mosques being converted into magazines. The story about the boars is new to me. Again, it is not Pemschi who is speaking, but Pinero. The story may be true, but is not likely. Even if it did occur, I doubt if Muhammadan susceptibilities would be outraged by seeing pigs kill one another. They would be more scandalized by Akbar's setting boars' fangs in gold, which Pinero says is what Akbar did.

One excellent thing in Akbar, which Mr. Smith has not noticed, is that he set his face against the horrid Central Asian vice of pederasty.

(Signed) H. BEVERIDGE.

THE JAPAN SOCIETY

MR. J. CAREY HALL, C.M.G., being prevented by a chill from delivering his paper on the "Structure of Japanese Society during the Tokugawa Period," his daughter, Miss L. Hall, entertained the members with a short impromptu account of the avocation of women in Japan, illustrated with lantern slides. The lecturer, who spent most of her life in Japan, had the best of opportunities to study her subject at first hand ; she unfolded a sympathetic picture of the hard lot which falls to the Japanese woman. Like the French peasant woman, the Japanese farmer's wife or daughter toils in the fields, but her work is more tedious and exacting than that of her European sister, for Japanese agriculture has to contend against natural geological difficulties, as well as with countless insects and caterpillars. The Japanese country girl is a farm hand, groom, stable boy, tea picker, vegetable seller, firewood gatherer, and flower seller, as in Ohara, according to seasons and districts ; she rears silkworms, winds the silk, and weaves the yarn into cloth, although the advent of steam-driven spinning mills has rather reduced the home industry. On the coast she is a diver, a "fisherman" rather than a "fish-wife." At home on the sea, she would have risked her life in patriotic work, as, for instance, in the removal of mines from Tsingtao Harbour in the present war, had not the Government refused her help. In towns, hairdressing, massage, professional entertainment, claim her attention,

together with factory work ; some adopt nursing as a profession with conspicuous success. The paper was deservedly well received.

On June 9 Mr. C. J. Purnell, M.A., the well-known right-hand man of Dr. Hagberg Wright, at the London Library, read an account of the "Life of William Adams of Gillingham," the first Englishman to set foot in Japan. Adams made his mark in the country which adopted him somewhat forcibly ; he became adviser to the Shōgun Iyeyasu on naval matters, and even on occasions he had to speak his mind plainly about the Spanish and Portuguese missionaries. Perhaps his influence in keeping Catholicism out of Japan has been underrated, for he seems to have stoutly wrangled with the *padre*, using his own English Bible against their catechism ! Mr. Purnell's paper is, in fact, an introduction to the transcript of William Adams' diaries, which were discovered some years ago in the Bodleian Library. The author made a thorough investigation of these documents, and of other writings scattered in the India Office, the Record Office, and elsewhere ; with painstaking care he has succeeded in making them more intelligible, and the fruit of his labours will be published by the Japan Society this year. It is a commendable move which will render available a mass of little details, the importance of which can only be recognized by those who delve in musty tomes. These unconsidered trifles of history throw a light upon the idiosyncrasies of mankind, as, for instance, when Adams records the strike of his deck-hands to obtain the reinstatement of a dismissed boatswain, or details the cost of an entertainment when setting up the mast, or discloses the wily ways of the Chinese thief, or the manœuvres of the Jesuits to make him return home and leave them a free field.

It appears that the people of Gillingham (Kent) evince some lively interest in the memory of Adams ; every worthy knows him by name, but—and that is not a matter for surprise—there is no monument to his memory in his

native town. Japan possesses his tomb, and that of his Japanese wife, but Gillingham has only a somnolent recollection of him. Would a stone be better? Perhaps not, for in the course of years, if the natives are sufficiently prodded from time to time by references to the Anjin San, an Adams' legend will perhaps spring out of old men's tales. Yet it were better for historical accuracy that a memorial, however modest, be made of stone or bronze. Some metal from a Tsingtao gun would be a suitable material.

SHOSANKEN.

QUATRAINS OF "OMAR KHAYYĀM"

BY JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E.

These verses are line for line, and almost word for word, translations of the original Persian. The Translator has added nothing of his own, and has not presumed to meddle with the thoughts or imagery of the Persian Poet.—J. P.

101.

COUNSEL I give—pray list to me ;
Don not the Cloak—Hypocrisy !
That World lasts ever ; *this* a spell,
For *this* Eternity don't sell.

102.

Khayyām,—when drunk with Wine be glad—
Sit not with fresh-faced maiden sad !
Since at the last thou'lt cease to be,
Deem now thou'rt not ! Live joyfully.

103.

Last eve to Potter's shop I went ;
Found thousands—mute—some eloquent—
One Pot spake up with haughty tone,
"Where's Potter—Seller—Buyer gone ?"

104.

Pure Wine, some say, a spirit is
Which brings a shattered heart new bliss ;
Quick ! quick ! for me three bumpers pour !
Why should men call *our* good Wine *sour* ?

105.

Singly my virtues scan ! each crime
Pardon, as past, ten at a time !
Let not the wind thy wrath inflame,
Forgive me in the Prophet's name !

106.

A spirit light is Wine in Cup,
Light was its soul when bottled up ;
Naught heavy is for Wine fit friend,
Save Cup whose weight and lightness blend.

107.

From—to—all time what limit ? where ?
Here, now, rejoice ! The Wine-Cup share !
Beyond my ken—Wit—Work—have passed !
But Wine each riddle solves at last.

108.

This vault of Heaven—this wonder-show—
A magic lantern is, we know ;
The Sun the lamp-flame is—the World
Is but the globe round which we're whirled.

109.

I can't o'er Nature victory gain.
I do and suffer—all in vain ;
I trust Thou'lt pardon me for shame
That Thou hast seen ; but who's to blame ?

110.

Let me arise and seek pure Wine,
Make thou my cheek like jujube shine ;
This mind of mine that watch doth keep
I'll splash with Wine and lull to sleep.

111.

How long Doubt's slaves shall we live here ?
What matters Life—a Day—a Year ?
Pour out the Wine ere, transformed, we
The Potter's pots again shall be.

112.

Since here we cannot long abide,
'Tis hard to live sans Wine—sans bride ;
Creeds new and old why preach, O sage ?
What's old, what's new, once off this stage ?

113.

In loving thee, Sin's curse I bear ;
If faith I break, I pay my share ;
If all my life severe thou art,
Till Judgment Day the less the smart.

114.

The World is "fun"—by "fun" controlled—
With Joy and sparkling Wine I hold ;
Men say—"God grant repentance due,"
Granted or not—*I've* naught to rue.

115.

To Mosque I've come devout and pure—
But not to pray I come—for, sure,
Once with a mat I made away,
To steal I now come day by day.

116.

'Neath Fate's dark foot when I'm abased,
When hope of life is all effaced ;
Make nothing of my clay but Cup.
When filled with Wine, I may wake up.

117.

My heart can't bait from trap discern,
 To Mosque and Cup I'm urged in turn ;
 Yet better strong in Inn to lie
 Than weak in Cell—Love, Wine and I.

118.

'Tis morn ! Of rose-red Wine partake ;
 The glass of name and fame let's break ;
 From hopes sublime let's get away
 With flowing curls and lutes to play.

119.

For crust and Cell the World we left,
 Of pomps and vanities bereft ;
 Chill penury with soul we bought,
 And wealth in poverty we sought.

120.

"Is"—"Is not"—know I well by line,
 "High"—"Low"—by logic I divine ;
 Yet must I modestly confess
 I know no Rank but drunkenness.

121.

When young we to a Teacher went,
 And with our progress were content ;
 The ground of his discourse was—"Lo,"
 "Water we came, like wind we go."

122.

The man who this World's secret knows
 Sees all are like—the joys—the woes ;
 Since good and bad alike must cease,
 Pain,—pleasure—both accept in peace.

123.

Follow so far the Sufi's trend,
Of prayer and fasting make an end ;
From Omar hear the word of truth
"Drink Wine! and rob! Do all with ruth!"

124.

Since man's lot on this barren shore
Is but to grieve and life give o'er,
Happy is he who speeds from here,
At rest is he who ne'er came near.

125.

Dervish! The figured Veil tear off ;
Nor for the Veil the body doff :
Sackcloth upon thy shoulders spread,
'Neath it assume the Sultan's tread !

126.

Behold the vault of Heaven—its sin !
The Earth how void of kith and kin !
Live for thyself! Leave yesterday,
Seek not to-morrow, use to-day !

127.

Wine-drinking—Consort with the fair—
Are better than false zealot's prayer,
To hell if lovers drunkards go,
The sight of Heaven no man will know.

THE IMĀM BĀRĀ OF LUCKNOW *

I

Out of the sombre shadows,
 Over the gleaming grass,
 Slow, in a sad procession,
 The shadowy pageants pass ;
 Mournful, majestic and solemn,
 Stricken and pale and dumb,
 Crowned in their matchless sorrow,
 The sacred martyrs come. . . .
 Hark ! thro' the brooding silence
 Breaks the wild cry of pain,
 Wrung from the heart of the ages,
Ali ! Hassan ! Hussain !

II

Come from this tomb of shadows,
 Come from this tragic shrine
 That thrills with the deathless anguish
 Of a long-dead martyr-line.
 Love ! let the living sunlight
 Hallow your splendid eyes
 Ashine with the steadfast triumph
 Of the Spirit that never dies.
 So may the hope of new ages
 Comfort the ancient pain
 That cries from the deep dark silence,
Ali ! Hassan ! Hussain !

SAROJINI NAIDU.

HYDERABAD, DECCAN.

* A place illuminated at the festival of Muharram, where the shrines of Hassan and Hussain are visited with great veneration.—A. R.

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Sir Edward Albert Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., to be Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa in succession to Sir Charles Bayley, who will retire in November next on appointment as a Member of the Council of India. His Majesty has also approved the appointment of Sir William Henry Hoare Vincent, Indian Civil Service, to a Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor in succession to Sir Edward Gait.

The Right Honourable Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Secretary of State for India, has appointed Sir Arnold White, late Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, to be a Member of the Council of India.

The Secretary of State for India has received the following telegram from the Viceroy, dated June 15, 1915 :

“There have been widespread thunder showers in Northern India, and the monsoon has appeared to-day on Malabar coast (Cape Comorin to Goa).”

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Sir Chettur Sankaran Nair, C.I.E., Judge of the Madras High Court, to be an Ordinary Member of the Governor-General's Council in succession to Sir Harcourt Butler,

who will take up the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of Burma in the autumn.

The Secretary of State for India has received the following telegram from the Viceroy :

“The Arabian Sea monsoon is extending to Kathiawar on the coast, but not inland. The Bay monsoon is giving rain only in Burma and the north-east part of India. Conditions are late.”

SOME NEW INTERPRETATIONS OF INDIAN ALLEGORY, ART, AND ARCHITECTURE

BY E. B. HAVELL

THE achievements of what is known as the scientific method of archæological research have been very remarkable, but the method has obvious limitations when it is applied to the deeper meaning of things, and especially to the interpretation of Indian allegory and art, which provide some of the most important materials for the understanding of Indian history. You may analyze the structure of a poem line by line and word by word, and give all its etymological derivations back to the earliest dynasties of Egypt, or the remotest epochs of Chaldæa, but unless you penetrate into the poet's mind, your interpretation of the poem, as poetry or history, will have no value.

Therefore, when all the resources of the scientific method have been exhausted, it always remains for the poet and the artist to say the last word in the interpretation of those historical documents which the poets and artists of former generations have bequeathed to posterity. Early Indian poetry and art are comparatively easy for the Western critic to appreciate. The Hymns of the Rig-Veda are in the same poetic plane as Homer, or the sculptures of the Parthenon. They strike a note very familiar to us. And because the note is familiar we are inclined somewhat hastily to assume that when Indian poets and artists

become less comprehensible to us, they sink to a lower level and lose some of their native virtue. It is in the later periods, when Indian poetry and art, ceasing to be purely naturalistic in the conventional sense, became allegorical and symbolic, that Western critics generally lose touch with the esoteric meaning, and fall back upon the scientific method of verbal analysis for illuminating obscurities. The light obtained by this process, as might be expected, often fails, and there are still many Indian myths the poetical meaning of which remains an enigma.

I will take the well-known allegory of the Churning of the Ocean* as a very interesting example. There are different versions of it given in the Mahâbhârata, the Râmâyana, and in the Vishnu Purâna, which, however, agree in their main structure. The variations are only such as any artist will give to an old traditional theme in adapting it for his own purposes. The story goes that in order to restore prosperity to the three regions of earth, air, and heaven, the Devas were instructed by the Preserver Vishnu to join with the Asuras in churning the cosmic ocean—the Sea of Milk—in order to obtain the nectar of life and immortality, amrita. So the Devas came to the shores of the Sea of Milk, which is compared in the Vishnu Purâna to the thin, shining clouds of autumn, and there, with the assistance of Vishnu, the holy mountain, Mandara, is upturned and used as a churning stick, while the great serpent, Ananta, whose coils encircle the earth, serves as the cord. Vishnu himself, in the form of a mighty tortoise, makes a pivot for the churn. The Devas seize one end of the cord and the Asuras the other, and the churning begins.

The first products of the churning are then enumerated. The Vishnu Purâna specifies the divine cow, Surabhi, the fountain of milk; then Vâruni, the god of wine; the celestial tree, Pârijâta; and finally the moon, which was at once seized by Siva as his perquisite.

* An article on "Churning the Ocean," by L. A. Waddell, C.B., appeared in the November, 1914, issue.—A. R.

At this point fire and poisonous fumes engendered by the churning began to overspread the earth, and threaten the whole universe. Brahmâ, the Creator, therefore begged Siva to exercise his power, and the latter saved the situation by swallowing the poison and holding it in his throat; whence he became nila-kantha, or blue-necked.

The climax is the appearance of Dhanwantari, the physician of the gods, bearing the precious cup of amrita in his hands, followed by the goddess Lakshmi, or Sri, herself, radiant with beauty, and accompanied by a choir of celestial nymphs, while the elephants of the skies pour water over her from golden vases. A struggle ensues between the Devas and the Asuras, but the latter are quickly overcome and driven down to the regions of Pâtala below the earth. So the great cosmic drama ends with the return of prosperity to the three worlds, and the general rejoicing of gods and men.

Now, I am not concerned with the obvious symbolism of the myth as the struggle between the powers of good and evil, but with the poetic imagery which formed its natural derivation. It may be accepted as an axiom that the great world-myths are not the wild creations of poetic imagination, but represent the poet's effort to give a metaphysical explanation of the great natural phenomena which excited the wonder and awe of primitive man. And it may also be assumed that a very large proportion of Indo-Aryan myths and legends are in some way connected with that great natural wonder—the Himâlayan mountain-range.

The Churning of the Ocean is, in fact, a poetical description of the magnificent natural phenomena which are familiar to every Indian and Anglo-Indian who has watched the coming of the dawn and sunrise over the Himâlayan snow-clad peaks at Darjeeling or elsewhere. If on a still autumn starlight night you climb a high hill commanding a wide prospect over the distant snowy range, you will realize at once the poet's comparison of the sea of milk to the thin shining clouds of autumn; for you look down upon a vast motionless sea of milk-white clouds stretching out to the

limitless horizon, and dotted here and there with islands formed by the highest mountain-peaks. And it is then easy to understand how an Indian yogi, meditating on this wonderful prospect, would imagine himself to be on the shores of the cosmic ocean. For stretching across the deep blue vault of heaven you can see the great Serpent Ananta, the Milky Way, encircling the earth with his coils, the planets of the Great Bear glittering like jewels in his seven heads. In the solemn stillness of the night he is watching ceaselessly while Vishnu Nârâyana sleeps upon the cosmic ocean.

Then towards morning, before it is yet dawn, there is a slight stirring in the air, and the Sea of Milk begins to be agitated. The Devas—the spirits of the daylight—as yet invisible, have seized the tail of the Great Serpent, while the Asuras—the spirits of the night—range themselves at its head, and the Churning of the Cosmic Ocean has begun. The clouds begin to break up into whirling wreaths of vapour, and it seems as if the depths of the valleys below formed an immense caldron, wherein the gods and demons are preparing some mysterious potion. The crescent moon, which had risen some hours before out of the depths of the cosmic ocean, is settling over Kinchinjunga's mighty crest. Siva has seized it as his own.

Suddenly over some of the highest peaks in the far distance there are flashes of crimson light. All creation seems to be on fire and threatened with destruction. The clouds gather together in a thick clammy mist, which quickly envelops mountain and valley, and covers the whole prospect with a dull pall of grey. It might seem that for the moment the powers of darkness were gaining strength, and that the Devas were being worsted in the struggle. But then the mist which enshrouds the mountains is parted in front of you as if by a magician's wand, and Kinchinjunga is revealed glittering like silver in the morning sunshine with a band of exquisite violet-blue on the slopes just below the snow-line. Siva has drunk the poison which threatened the

world's dissolution, and become "blue-necked." Lakshmi, the bright goddess of the dawn and sunrise, has at last risen from the depths of darkness, bringing the divine nectar with her; the morning showers which greet her coming have cleared the air, and all nature rejoices once more at the defeat of evil spirits of night who disappear into the depths of Pātala. An important clue to the interpretation of the allegory is the identification of the Serpent Ananta with the Milky Way.

It is unnecessary to explain the minor details with which poetic fancy has embroidered the main plot of the great Indo-Aryan nature-myth. Lakshmi, or Sri, is clearly identical with the Vedic Ushas, the Dawn Maiden, to whom so many of the most beautiful Vedic hymns are addressed. She is the *sakti*, or consort, of Vishnu, who has a double part to play in the Churning of the Ocean. As Vishnu-Narâyana, he is the sun at its nadir using the heavenly vault as the tortoise upon which he pivots the holy mountain, the Himālayas, which serves as the Churning-stick. But as the bridegroom of Lakshmi, and the victor in the struggle between the powers of light and darkness, he is transformed into Vishnu-Sūrya, the sun at its zenith, upon whose breast the goddess of the day throws herself while the lesser powers of light are enraptured by the beauty of her eyes.

It is very important to be able to recognize the constant interchange between pairs of opposite symbols in Indian art. In the West we are accustomed to draw a hard and fast line between such ideas as light and darkness, creation and destruction, good and evil, and so we are apt to be misled when Vishnu appears in the same allegory under different names both as the ruler of the night sky and as the sun at noon, when Siva is both creator and destroyer, when a sun-emblem, like the *amalaka*, is used also as Lakshmi's water-jar, or when the *stûpa*, a symbol of death, is used as a symbol of life. The Hindu philosopher interprets these antitheses as opposite spokes in the wheel of

life, or petals in the world-lotus, the relative position of which in the cosmos is constantly being reversed, just as day is transformed into night and night into day.

I will now turn to the interpretation of one of the great masterpieces of the world's art, the famous colossal bust of the Trimûrti at Elephanta, representing the three Aspects of Ishvara. The orthodox Brahmanical interpretation makes the names of the three Aspects Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Siva. Dr. Burgess, in his well-known descriptive work on Elephanta, has given these designations to the three heads of the sculpture, and they have been generally accepted by other archæologists. Dr. Coomaraswamy has followed his example in his recent book on the arts and crafts of India. According to this interpretation, the head in profile on the left of the spectator is Siva. The one on the opposite side, facing west, is Vishnu, and the central head is Brahmâ. A short time ago M. Victor Goloubeff had a splendid series of photographs taken of this and other Indian sculptures, and this has made possible a closer study of them by Europeans who have not the facilities of officers of the Archæological Survey of India. With the help of these photographs I have satisfied myself that the accepted interpretation of the Elephanta Trimûrti is wrong, and I believe I shall have no difficulty in proving it.

A priori, it would seem very strange that an Indian artist in representing the Trimûrti should perpetrate such a solecism as to place Brahmâ between Vishnu and Siva, for Brahmâ, the sunrise, is the natural antithesis of Siva, the sunset; and Vishnu, the sun at noon, according to all the laws of nature and the theories of Hindu philosophy which interpret those laws, is the mean between these two extremes.

Regarding the head of Siva, the Destroyer, there can be no dispute. The sculptor has made it evident by the ferocious aspect, the frowning brows, the protruding tongue, the cobra, and other accessories of the head on the left of the spectator. With that fact established, there should

have been no difficulty in identifying the central head with Vishnu, for not only is it Vishnu's recognized place in the Trimûrti, but the sculptor has carefully indicated all the symbols which are Vishnu's special attributes. On the high *mukuta*, or tiara, which may be taken to be a symbol of the holy Mount Mandara, or Mêru, are three magnificently executed jewels, each with a circular plaque in the centre. These may be taken to be the three positions of the sun, or the three strides of Vishnu, or esoterically as the three modifications of the principle of consciousness (*Ahamkara*). The necklet of pearls, and the splendidly chased collar set with five gems (*pañchratna*) are ornaments which are usually given to statues of Vishnu. The flower-symbol held in the broken left hand was doubtless meant for a bud of the blue lotus, Vishnu's flower.

If we assume, then, that this is Vishnu's head, it might seem to follow that the remaining head, on the right of the spectator, is Brahmâ. But here the sculptors has departed from the orthodox Brahmanical rendering of the Trimûrti and put the head of Parvati, the *sakti* of Siva, in the place of Brahmâ. It is a woman's head. Dr. Burgess noticed the resemblance of the jewellery on the head-dress and the ringlets of hair to those carved upon the female side of the Ardhanari sculpture in the adjoining compartment of the Elephanta temple. But he did not follow up the clue, and assumed that the head was Vishnu's. There are other indications, besides those noticed by Dr. Burgess, which make the sculptor's intention clear to an artist. The head is considerably smaller than the other two, and the contours of it are decidedly feminine. The hand, also, holding a lotus-flower, is a woman's hand; it is smaller and more delicate than Siva's hand, holding the cobra on the opposite side.

This is not Vishnu, but Parvati, taking the place of Brahmâ as Creatrix—a quite intelligible variation of the orthodox Trimûrti, involving no inconsistencies in the sculptor's treatment of the subject, which will appeal

strongly to all Indians who are accustomed to think of India as the Mother.

Incidentally it will be interesting to point out the resemblance between the head of Vishnu in the Elephanta Trimûrti and the beautiful painting of Prince Siddhartha in the *vihara*, or college hall, at Ajantâ, known archæologically as Cave I. The design of the tiara in the painting is identical with that of Vishnu in the sculpture. There is also what may be called a strong family likeness in the two faces. Prince Siddhartha is more youthful and shows more human tenderness, while Vishnu has more Olympian aloofness and divine grandeur; but we can see that both belong to a common ideal traditional type, and to the same artistic school. There are many such affinities between the Ajantâ paintings and the sculptures of Elephanta to be noticed in a detailed critical study of them.

My next subject is one which has been very frequently discussed without any very convincing result—the origin and symbolism of the curvilinear spire of a Hindu temple known as the *sikhara*. Fergusson took it as the chief characteristic of what he called the Northern Hindu or Indo-Aryan style of architecture, but left its meaning and origin unexplained. Professor Macdonell and others have tried to prove its derivation from the *stûpa*, but there are convincing proofs that its symbolism and derivation have a separate origin. Quantities of miniature shrines covered by the *sikhara*, probably of an *ex voto* character, have been found side by side with miniature *stûpas* on the sites of Sarnath and Bodh-Gayâ; but while there is not the least indication that the former were derived from the latter, the juxtaposition of the two symbols points to the probability that one is the complement or antithesis of the other. It is not uncommon to find two temples of about the same period built side by side, one with a *sikhara* and the other with that pyramidal form of tower, crowned by a miniature dome, to which Fergusson gave the name “Dravidian” because it occurs most frequently in Southern India. The

only explanation given of these pairs of temples has been that the one is of the northern, or Indo-Aryan, style, and the other Dravidian. It has been suggested by Dr. Burgess that one must have been built by a northern king and the other by a southern one, but this explanation begs the whole question.

The true explanation is that one is a symbol of life and the other the complementary symbol of death : in other words, the *sikhara* is a symbol of the Vaishnava aspect of the Trimûrti, while the so-called Dravidian tower is a glorified *stûpa*, and symbolizes the Saiva aspect. The earliest representation of the two symbols side by side occurs in one of the Assyrian sculptures figured in Layard's "Nineveh," and there described as the Palace of Sennacherib (Fig. 1). It consists of a group of buildings at the foot of a mountain, upon the sides of which are planted the symbols of life and death—the flowering tree and the cypress or pine. The palace is doubtless the building on the right. Adjoining it are two structures with the characteristic curvilinear spire, known as the *sikhara*, and crowned by a member which strongly suggests the Indian *amalaka*. They are evidently temples dedicated to the deity of the holy mountain, at the foot of which they are built, and the three domed buildings in front of them are *stûpas*, or royal tombs. If this explanation of the hieroglyph is correct—and the symbolism is so easy to read that there can hardly be any doubt about it—the origin of the *sikhara* must be put back before the eighth century B.C., or at least sixteen centuries earlier than the usual archæological estimate.

Starting from this hypothesis, that the *sikhara* is an architectonic symbol of Vishnu's holy mountain, the axis or pivot of the universe, which the Aryans in India called Mount Mandara, or Mêru, in the Himâlayas. I will now try to explain another much disputed point—the meaning of the *amalaka*, or melon-shaped member which usually crowns the *sikhara*. The symbol of Vishnu, as the sun at its zenith, is the blue water-lily (*nymphæa*), the fruit of

which is orange or melon-shaped, and divided like an orange into a number of seed compartments, with partitions radiating from the centre, like the spokes of a wheel (Figs. 2 and 3). So this seed-capsule symbolizes the sun, as the all-pervading cosmic force, and the blue petals of the flower stand for the firmament in which it shines. I believe it has not been observed before that in the Bharhut, Sânci, and Amarâv-ati sculptures, the flowers of the lotus and water-lily are often represented with the petals turned down upon the stalk (Fig. 4), so as to disclose the seed-capsule, and in Sanskrit literature the various heavenly spheres are usually described as "lotuses with turned-down petals." This, in fact, is the *motif* of the so-called "bell-shaped" capital, described by archæologists as "persepolitan," which represents Vishnu's standard or ensign (*dhwaja stambha*). The "bell" is formed by the cluster of petals turned down upon the shaft of the pillar or flag-pole; and the so-called "cushion-shaped" or "pudding-shaped" member of the capital is the seed-capsule. The illustration (Fig. 5) is from a pillar sculptured at Bharkut, in which the division of the petals is given realistically. But as a rule the Indian craftsmen conventionalized the whole cluster of petals to such an extent that the original *motif* is almost unrecognizable except by tracing its origin back through a series of examples.

Now, the symbolism of the Indian temple *sikhara* is exactly the same as that of Vishnu's standard, or the so-called persepolitan pillar. The *sikhara* is the mystic four-petalled lotus, or water-lily, with its petals turned down to form the roof of the shrine or holy of holies, in the same way as in Vishnu's standard the eight or sixteen petalled flower forms the "bell-shaped" capital. The *amalateja* is the seed-capsule with the internal compartments marked by the external decoration, so as to emphasize the symbolism of the mystic wheel. The *kalasa*, or water vessel, which forms the finial, is, of course, the jar of amrita, the nectar of life and immortality, which was churned from the cosmic ocean.



FIG. 1

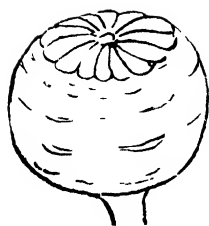


FIG. 2

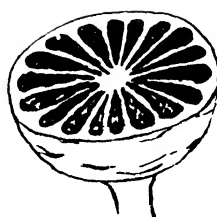


FIG. 3



FIG. 4

The so-called "horseshoe" windows, which are used to decorate the sides of the *sikhara*, are symbols of the rising sun, and a large one is always placed on the front of the shrine facing the east, for Vishnu watches for the coming of his bride, Lakshmi, the goddess of the day, and his image should receive the first rays of the morning sun.

In my recently published work on the "Ancient and Mediæval Architecture of India," I have explained how the interchange of Vaishnavite and Saivite symbolism has misled Fergusson and other authorities on Indian architecture, but the subject is too intricate for detailed reference in this paper. The point I wish to make clear is that the *sikhara* stands for the Vaishnava Aspect of the Trimūrti, whether the sectarian dedication of the temple be Saivite or Vaishnavite, just as the so-called "Dravidian" temple is technically a symbol of the Saiva Aspect of the Trimūrti, even though the temple may be appropriated to the worship of Vishnu. If this be established, it follows that Fergusson's classification of Indian architectural styles into "Indo-Aryan," "Dravidian," and "Chalukyan," is based entirely upon false premises and a misapprehension of the symbolism which underlies all Indian thought, whether its expression be poetic or artistic. It is as inconsequential to classify Vishnu temples as "Indo-Aryan" and Siva temples as "Dravidian" as it would be to classify churches and cathedrals architecturally, according to the names of the saints to which they are dedicated, or the sects to which they belong.

Another very important clue to the reading of Indian history and the interpretation of Indian art, lies in the recognition of the fact that the temple architecture of India and the organization of religious communities, like the Buddhist *sangha*, mirrored the daily life of ancient India and Indo-Aryan social and political traditions. Thus the four gateways and the rails of a Buddhist *stûpa* were exact reproductions of the gateways and defences of an Indian

town. The rectangular plan of the Hindu temple, with its *gopurams*, or cow-gates, reproduced the plan of an Indo-Aryan village. The rows of monastic cells under the walls corresponded with the tents or huts of the Kshatriya defenders of the fortified camp or village. The *pradakshimâ* path of the temple reproduced the Mangala-vithi or the circumambulatory path under the village walls. The *mandapam* of the temple was derived from the Council-house of the Aryan village community, and the halls of a thousand columns from the pavilions, or sacred groves, which were the meeting-places of the General Assembly of householders. Similarly the organization and procedure of the Buddhist *sangha* were based upon the popular institutions of the Indo-Aryan village community.

We have, therefore, in the temple architecture of India, both in its structure and symbolism, invaluable materials for filling up many wide gaps in the literary and epigraphical records, which are all the more important because the living traditions of Indian architecture link together the present and the past and give an unbroken chain of evidence for the wonderful history of Aryan civilization in India which is now, let us hope, being revived and perpetuated under the protection of the British Raj (Fig. 6).

I will conclude my lecture with an illustration of one of a series of village plans given in the Hindu Silpa-Sastras, which not only indicates how thoroughly the problems of sociology, now exercising the minds of Western experts, were considered by the Aryans in India, but throws a vivid light upon many aspects of Indian history and polity. I have no doubt that the village plan was originally derived from the fortified camp of the first Aryan invaders of India; but as the religion of the Vedas permeated all Aryan political thought, both in peace and war, so we find in the Silpa-Sastras that the master-builder, in laying out the village, was said to be adapting the plan of the cosmos, designed by the Divine Architect, to the needs of the Aryan community—in other words, he was laying out the

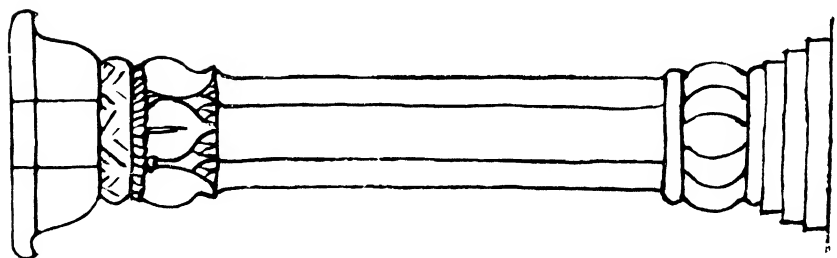
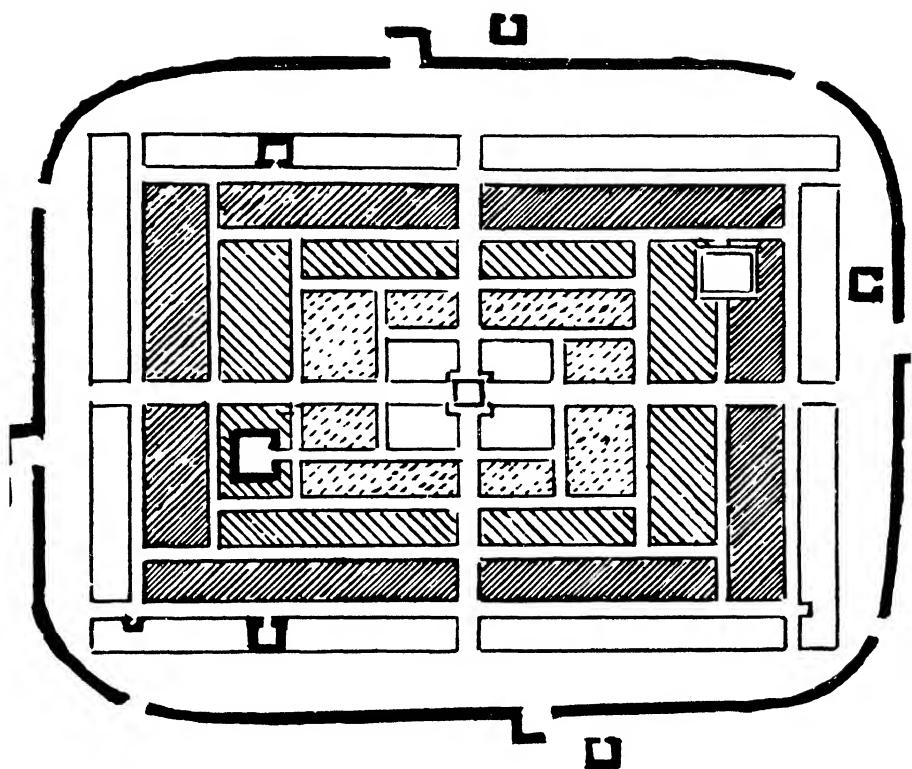


Fig. 5

village on the lines which were most healthy and practical for Indians to follow. The plan was generally a rectangle, with the main axis of the village running as nearly as possible due east and west, so that the principal streets got the full benefit of the vivifying rays of the morning sun. The main street, dividing the village into two halves, was called Râja-patha, or King's Street, and a good circulation of air was insured by another wide but shorter street, called Mahâkala or Vamana, intersecting this at right angles. The two together made four arms—symbols of the cosmic cross, or the four positions of the sun—at its rising, at noon, at setting, and at midnight.

Under the village walls was a wide path, known as the Mangada-vîthi, or Path of Auspiciousness. This was the Pradakshinâ Path, which is consecrated by Hindu religious ritual in the present day. Perhaps you have never reflected that when the Buddha preached his Eight-fold Spiritual Path—the eight virtues which must be practised to attain Nirvana—he had in his mind the real Mangala-vîthi, or Path of Auspiciousness, divided by the eight gates of the village walls, which every Aryan villager trod when he was performing his religious duties. In the same way the Buddhist *sangha* was organized in the model of the *sangha* of the Aryan village. It was a spiritual brotherhood within the larger secular brotherhood of the Aryan community.

The Silpa-Sastras say that the centre of the village, where the arms of the cosmic cross intersect, was the place for the temple of Brahmâ, or for a Mandapam for meetings. This explains several things: first, why Brahmâ was represented in sculpture and painting with four heads—because he was guarding the four crossways of the village; and also why he and other deities had four arms. Their arms were the mystic arms of the cosmic cross. It also shows why, in spite of Hindu temple ritual not being congregational, but individualistic, the temple Mandapam was always spacious and provided accommodation for a large number

of people. It was the assembly-hall or council-chamber of the village or town.

The village plan here shown was specially designed for a mixed community comprising all the four castes. The different quarters allotted to each are indicated by the shading. The whole area was divided into sixty-four parts, or the square of eight. The four central compartments, left unshaded on the plan, were allotted to Brahmins; the twelve blocks grouped round these were for Kshatriyas; the twenty blocks encircling the latter were for Vaisyas, and twenty-eight blocks surrounding them were for Sudras. The technical name given to the plan, *Nandyāvarta*—the Abode of Happiness—is very suggestive of the ancient Aryan view of the caste question. Here Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, are represented as a joint family living happily together without jealousy or enmity, each section of the community fulfilling religiously the special *dharma* which belonged to it by law and tradition. The *Panchayat*, or Council of Five, which controlled the affairs of these village republics, was a representative body elected by the householders; but I believe no explanation has ever been given of the number five. The village plan, as I have said, represented the cosmos. There were said to be five elements in the cosmos, the *pañc-ratna*—earth, air, fire, water, and ether. There were also five elements in the Aryan *sangha*—the four recognized *varnas*, or castes, and a fifth or extra caste, called *sūtās*, formed by the offspring of irregular marriages who were still admitted within the Aryan pale. The Council of Five, therefore, was a democratic institution representing the five social elements of the Aryan village community. All Aryan religious ideas were similarly co-ordinated with the real life of the people, and the temple architecture of India consecrated in its planning and structure the organization and political traditions of Indo-Aryan society. This is very clearly seen in Southern India, where the Aryan traditions were less influenced by Muhammadan ideas than they were

in the north ; but even the Muhammadan mosque in India, being structurally derived from the Hindu temple, retains some reminiscences of the planning of the Indo-Aryan village.

I have tried here to indicate a new line of research, the study of Indian town-planning, which might add a great deal to our knowledge of Indian history and culture. There are abundant materials for it which hitherto have been entirely neglected. Professor Geddes has lately imported into India a valuable collection of European town-plans. I hope that he may have opportunity while he is in India of collecting similar materials to illustrate the ancient Indo-Aryan science of town-planning. Then, perhaps, he will be able to demonstrate the truth of Sir Thomas Munro's saying, that if civilization ever became an article of export between Europe and India, the benefit would not always be on India's side.

SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

1. THE DIWAN OF INAYAT KHAN. Rendered into English verse by Miss Jessie Duncan Westbrook. (London. *The Sufi Publishing Society*.) Price 2s. 6d.

This collection of twenty-one Sufi songs has been compiled to express in verse some of the divers aspects of thought and feeling, "within the sacred path of Sufi lore," and "to lift the veil that all may see the path to love and wisdom." Some of the poems contain rich thoughts couched in appropriate language: this is particularly the case with "The Kiss," which declares that "The kiss of thought is understanding clear, and sympathy the heart's sincerest kiss."

2. PARADIGMS AND EXERCISES IN SYRIAC GRAMMAR. By Theodore H. Robinson, M.A., B.D. (Oxford *The Clarendon Press*.) Price 5s. net.

To the philologist familiar with the exceedingly flowing and idiomatic style of Syriac, so particularly exhibited in the rendering of the Synoptic Gospels in the Syriac Bible, any work which tends to popularize the study of this interesting member of the Northern Semitic family of languages must be welcome. It is true that this field of knowledge had been cultivated just a little over a decade ago by Dr. J. A. Crichton's translation of Professor Theodore Noldeke's "Compendious Syriac Grammar," but there was ample room for a further tillage of the ground, and we hail with pleasure the advent of Mr. Robinson's work. Until comparatively recently the best works upon the Syriac language were mostly written in German, and as but few of them had been translated into English, such works remained sealed missives to all students and scholars who were unfamiliar with the Teutonic tongue. The present work being written by an Englishman, and in an English style, must be useful to students of Syriac in this country. Possibly it was in that belief and with such desire that the present author compiled his work. If such was the case, he is to be commended for his patriotism, nor does he merit any less commendation for the skilful manner in which he has executed his work. The study of Syriac has unfortunately been too long neglected, yet it and its closely

allied and almost sister tongue, Aramaic, each possess a literature which will well pay research and study. The works of Bardesanes, the gnostic, who flourished in the second century of the Christian era, and was a poet, philosopher, astronomer, and historian, were written in Syriac. His "Dialogue on Destiny" is extant, but unfortunately his 150 hymns are lost. In the time of Jesus Aramaic was the colloquial language of Palestine, and when Christ was called up in the synagogue at Nazareth (Luke iv. 16, 17) to read the second lesson, he seems to have read it out of a Targum, for the words then recited by him out of Isa. lxi. 1, as given in Luke iv. 18 do not exactly agree either with the Hebrew original or with the Septuagint version of that passage; and consequently it appears most probable that they were read out of some Targum written in the Aramaic language, which was made use of in that synagogue. Furthermore, the expression alleged to have been used by Christ in His agony upon the cross, when He cried, in the words of the Psalmist (Ps. xxii. 1), *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?* "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" (Matt. xxvii. 46), He quoted not out of the Hebrew text, but out of the Chaldee (Aramaic) paraphrase, for in the Hebrew text it is *Eli, Eli, lama azabtani?* and the word *sabachthani* is nowhere to be found save in the Aramaic tongue. We were pleased to note that Mr. Robinson, in his work, calls attention to the fact that *Teth* and the hard *Tau* of Syriac "were originally different sounds, the latter being the more strictly dental, *Teth* being pronounced with the tongue farther back in the mouth" This remark opens up a wide field of philological research into the origin of the two linguals *Teth* and *Tsade* of the primitive Semitic language, and their connection with the Egyptian hieroglyphics "the snake," "flying swan," and "flame," each of which represented either the *ts* or a *t*, a study which might well be extended into the development of the four linguals, *Ti*, *Za*, *Sad*, and *Dud*, of modern Arabic from the same roots.—H. M. LÉON, M.A., PH.D., F.S.P.

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3. AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE FEASTS AND HOLIDAYS OF THE HINDUS AND MUSULMANS. Pp. 122. (Calcutta: *Imperial Record Department*, 1914.) Price Re. 1 an. 8.

Dr. E. Denison Ross, who recently had charge of the Stein Collections at the British Museum, has given students of religious festivals a book compiled under his direction by a Hindu and a Muhammadan service man which will be distinctly useful for purposes of reference. It is rich in footnotes, but the printing might have been better.

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4. MILLARD FILLMORE. By W. E. Griffis. Pp. 159. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1915.)

This small book is a very sympathetic personal study of an American President whose chief action from the Eastern standpoint was the irruption of Perry's expedition in Japanese waters in 1852. The importance of that event is fully realized all over the world, and particularly

so, perhaps, by the author, who as a missionary and teacher spent some years in Japan, and consequently one is thankful to see that he dismisses the "common superstition growing out of the colossal conceit of the average American, that Commodore Perry virtually created new Japan," and that he calls upon his countrymen to live up to the spirit of their first motives in seeking intercourse with Japan, and to do away with the rule of "the unintelligent mob, the selfish manufacturer, landowner, and the labour unions, that raise the shout 'America for Americans'—in foreign accents—ready to violate treaties in order to keep the temperate and industrious Japanese out of America." That is straight talk—Griffis speaking, one might say, with Fillmore's voice.

5. SUPERINTENDENT OF MUHAMMADAN AND BRITISH MONUMENTS, ALLAHABAD: ANNUAL REPORT. Pp. 87, chiefly statistics, 46 plates.

This report contains short descriptions of work done in the northern circle, and illustrations of such work of restoration and repair. An interesting note on the making of *pietra dura* work is noted, but the proportions and names of the materials used in the cement might have been translated into English equivalents for the information of European craftsmen.

6. VILLAGE AND TOWN LIFE IN CHINA. London School of Economics Monographs on Sociology, No. 4. By Y. K. Leong and L. K. Tao. (*George Allen and Unwin*) Price 5s

This is a delightful book, not merely an addition to the learned publications of the School of Economics, ably edited by Professor Hobhouse, but a book which the general public will find full of interest. It is a sympathetic study of the Chinese family and of the social position of the family in the village or in the town, and of these last organizations in the greater family which is the Chinese nation. Written by two Chinese students, both graduates from the school, it shows the Chinese unit from the Chinese point of view, and it does so in a candid fashion. So much has been written about the Chinese by people who had a personal bias—missionaries amongst others, and prosy persons besides, who would reform the world to suit their own "cranks"—that one might have expected a Chinese author to take the cudgels in a spirit of no greater toleration; but our authors have wisely eschewed polemics—here and there a few straight hints, but nothing which cannot readily be conceded or accepted by fair-minded readers (*e.g.*, p. 25, on old age pensions; p. 36, on official contracts; p. 41, on practising one's own principles—not a feature of the European dealings with China, p. 80, on trade guilds. The chapter on the rôle of women and that on Chinese Buddhism are enlightening. There are but few misprints—*e.g.*, Avalokīṣvara for Avalokiteśvara (p. 154), Dharaṇī for Dhareṇī (p. 137), stamp for seal (p. 78); and the only cause for regret is that the work is not more extensive. But its shortness may be an inducement to busy folks to read it from cover to cover, and it deserves careful study.—SHOSANKEN.

7. ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURE OF INDIA: A STUDY OF INDO-ARYAN CIVILIZATION. By E. B. Havell. (*John Murray.*) Price 30s. net.

The value and extent of Mr. Havell's creative research in the domain of Indian architecture needs no recapitulation at this time of day. His fame is secure in the abiding gratitude of the great community to the interpretation of whose artistic ideals he has brought a rare understanding, and rendered a devotion at once passionate and patient.

In the volume under notice Mr. Havell presents a comprehensive study of Indo-Aryan civilization in the light and, indeed, in the terms of Indian art. Never, perhaps, has the complicated symbolism that pervades Hindu life been expounded with greater force or freshness than in these pages. And as a result one discovers that the varied manifestations of Indo-Aryan civilization have a common mainspring—viz., the design and polity of the early Indo-Aryan village. When you have mastered the constitution of this village community—a task no less difficult than fascinating—you will have mastered the origin of Indian religion, the meaning of Indian art, and the secret of Indian social phenomena. That, in briefest outline, is the subject of Mr. Havell's main thesis, developed with much learning and lucidity. His plea that the principles on which Indo-Aryan civilization was built up need to be carefully studied for their bearing on the Indian renaissance of the present day will command general assent and sympathy. It is, indeed, no dead system or sentiment that Mr. Havell conjures up, but the very genius of the Indo-Aryan race. On the other hand, not all will agree with the author that the early Indo-Aryan conceptions and conditions may still be regarded as constituting, by themselves, an operative theory of ordered progress. It is neither possible nor desirable that the future of India should be a reproduction of its past: it would have to be the shaping of a new synthesis. A recognition of that inalienable destiny is conspicuously absent from his survey. Mr. Havell, indeed, evinces a curious insensibility to the fundamental modification which Indian life has undergone since the halcyon days of which he treats in this and his earlier works. His intuition with Aryan India, fruitful as it has been of extensive research and invaluable interpretation, has, none the less, tended to limit, and even distort, his historical vision. To the present writer, for instance, it has long been a matter of profound regret that the author's usual acumen and sympathy should have alike failed him in appraising the Muhammadan contribution to Indian culture. Readers of his previous work on "Indian Architecture" will recollect the insistence of his denial that the Muhammadans had communicated a new impulse, a new spirit, to Indian craftsmanship. In the book under review he returns to the charge: "The Indo-Saracenic style of Indian architecture was purely a creation of Fergusson", and again. "Muhammadan art in India from its very beginning was, and continued to be, wholly Indian in spirit and in craftsmanship." We are not concerned here to defend Fergusson's famous classification of "styles" as completely accurate or scientific, but would merely note that the term "Indo-Saracenic" is, broadly, both convenient

and expressive. It stands for a specific æsthetic synthesis in Indian art and architecture, no less than in Indian life and thought.

It would simply not be true to say of the Jama Masjid at Delhi, or the Pearl Mosque at Agra—to take two out of a hundred equally famous monuments—that it is “wholly Indian in spirit and in craftsmanship.” Their inspiration is exotic, as doubtless their execution was mainly Indian. Taken in detail, they may, as Mr. Havell claims, boast no structural novelty, and the symbolism of their ornament may be “Indo-Aryan.” Nevertheless, the author’s statement that “the Muhammadan invasions made no decisive break in the building traditions of India, except that they brought about a reversion to the ideals of Hīnayāna Buddhism,” will appear to most informed readers as more conjectural than convincing. Indo-Aryanism by itself could never have achieved the Taj. The age-long cunning of the Indian master-builder alone could not have consummated that immortal harmony. What Mr. Havell perhaps would not perceive is that its atmosphere is attuned to the living spirit of Islam. In the Muhammadan the austere serenity of the Taj could not fail to kindle a sense of spiritual kinship, just as standing beside the rugged and prodigal grandeur of the Budh-Gaya he must be filled with the consciousness of a fierce isolation and strangeness.—SVUD HOSSAIN.

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8 INDIAN ENGLISH. By George Clifford Whitworth, I.C.S. (Letchworth Garden City Press, Ltd)

This new edition of the “examination of the errors of idiom made by Indians in writing English” gives much food for thought. Among the chief errors are the redundancy and misplacement of the words “the” and “a.” *E.g.*, “There has been a storm in the teapot at Conocada,” and, “if a slang may be permitted”—faults which add greatly to the delight of much Babu English. The book is interesting, instructive, and thorough.—A F S.

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CURRENT PERIODICALS

The INDIAN REVIEW for May, 1915, contains a notable article on “The Neutral States of South-Eastern Europe,” by the Rev. F. M. Macphail, M.A., B.D. After surveying the struggle for independence in Greece, Roumania, and Bulgaria, he says:

“It cannot be said that the Treaty of Bucharest is likely to be a permanent settlement of the Balkan Question. It has placed Bulgarian population under Greece, Serbia, and Roumania, and Bulgaria is certain to try to upset it sooner or later. . . . If, as seems probable, Austria-Hungary will after the war have to give Serbia and Roumania part of the Hapsburg lands inhabited by Serbs and Roumanians, these two countries might quite well be expected to restore to Bulgaria what are really Bulgarian lands. . . . Bulgaria is doubtless at present closely watching the course of events. She must be swayed by conflicting motives—hatred of Roumania and her late Allies, gratitude to Russia and yet fear of her,

dislike of Turkey, fear of Austria-Hungary. . . . It is said, indeed, that in all three countries the people are strongly in favour of joining the Allies, and that they are held back by their Governments."

This number also publishes a survey of the State of Baroda, its administration, education, finance, and history. We read that "the military force of the Baroda State is a small one, there being about 5,000 regulars, artillery included, and about 4,000 irregulars. There is a Director of Public Instruction and a College at Baroda affiliated to the Bombay University. Liberal expenditure is incurred on education, and there are special technical schools. Peripatetic teachers and libraries spread education in the rural parts, and the Gaekwar is anxious to introduce compulsory education."

In the MODERN REVIEW for June appears an article on "The Importance of Forestry," by W. W. Pearson, M.A., B.Sc.: "It is civilization, in fact," he says, "which leads to the need of forestry; for it is not barbarous tribes that destroy forests, but civilized peoples. When a civilized people occupy a land covered with virgin forest, they at once begin to cut down the trees; so that one result of civilization is the gradual disappearance of trees, which are sometimes destroyed with most disastrous results, involving the ruin of climate favourable to life, and so the impoverishment and downfall of once favourable nations . . . In India, however, forestry has been forced upon us, for the climate was found to be going from bad to worse as a result of the constant destruction of its forests. In one district there were in one year 85,000 men engaged in cutting down and burning forest in order to clear ground for crops. . . . In the Himalayan retreat where I am writing this article a whole hillside was long ago denuded of its oak-trees in order to obtain their money value. They have never been replaced."

Under the title of "The Suicide of Turkey" Mr. Cassamally Jairazbhoy, Vice-President of the Moslem League, Bombay, faces the question of the future of Turkish rule in Europe in THE MOSLEM WORLD, July, 1915. He points out that the patient and long-suffering people of Turkey have nothing to gain by keeping a Government which has so persistently led them along the road to ruin. It is against that Government and not against the Ottoman peoples that the Allies are making war. The most fertile part of Armenia has already passed to Russian hands, and the British have established a strong foothold in Mesopotamia. In both countries will the conquerors be welcomed as deliverers, for both have endured for generations the misrule and endless exactions of Turkish officials. . . . And from no part of the world does any member of the vast Islamic brotherhood stretch forth a hand of sympathy to the doomed nation. Islam realizes only too well that Turkey has slain itself, and Islam looks forward to the not far distant time when the Muhammadans who still groan beneath the tyrannical influence of Stamboul will be free men, beneath a just and progressive Government, even as the Muhammadans of India and of Egypt. We, therefore, clearly recognize that it is to the interests of Islam as a whole, and of one section of it in particular, that Turkish misrule should for ever be ended.

"How the Ottoman Empire will be divided up is a problem as yet insoluble. But it is not one that need greatly concern us, except as a matter of mental speculation, for we have the assurance of the British Government that our Holy Places will be free from molestation during the war, and we rest content in the belief that those places will eventually pass to British control, to the great advantage of all future pilgrims, and to the infinite satisfaction of all those who have experienced on the Haj the discomfort and oppression of even a brief existence under Turkish rule. It would still further add to our content if we could be given some assurance that the Allies will protect the person and dignity of the Sultan, even if at present it is impossible for them so far to foretell the future as to make any definite statement about the Caliphate. Some uncertainty is inevitable, but it can be faced with confidence that the Allies will continue to defend the right."

Under the title of "The Future Development of South Indian Architecture," Mr E M Thomas, F.R.I.B.A., Consulting Architect to the Government of Madras, in the THEOSOPHIST for June, shows a strong case for the establishment of a School of Architecture in Madras. Architecture in that Presidency, he states, has in recent times had a larger measure of official recognition than any other Province. For the last fifty years at least the Government has employed architects, and also grants scholarships in architecture to Indian subjects, tenable in England or Bombay for a term of years. He continues "As Consulting Architect to the Government, I am concerned principally with the designs for your school buildings and hostels. . . . Now the majority of the school designs are prepared by retired overseers, first-class draughtsmen, etc., and provided such designs promise, when carried out, to be structurally sound, Government for many reasons does not, except in very bad cases, have much to say about their appearance. . . . The majority of the individuals now responsible for your designs are totally untrained, and therefore unfit, for the services they now perform in the name of architecture." He argues that architecture is left to tender mercies of the uncultured because there is no School of Architecture to attract those of superior education and taste, and that if facilities were granted for the study of architecture a vast improvement would soon be seen in the standard of work produced in the Madras Presidency.

RECENT FICTION

9. THE THREE SISTERS. By May Sinclair. (London: *Hutchinson and Co.*) 6s. net.

May Sinclair, the author of the well-known book, "The Divine Fire," always repays study. In "The Three Sisters," which might also have the title, "Three Women and One Man," the author brings before us the eternal "woman's question" which occupied us all so intensely before the war, but has since become extinguished, as if by magic, and is slumbering now in its ashes. The three sisters, as they sit together

evening after evening behind the yellow blind—aimless, cheerless for want of some interest, something to do, awaiting their unsympathetic father (whose third wife has left him) to say prayers with them—afford a vivid picture of what girls' lives at home, as a rule, are. They while away the precious time of their youth, too often not getting the education they require for a useful life. It is all "trashiness" without efficiency. They are all expected to marry, but more often than not they have little chance of meeting marrying men—as a rule as scarce as they are undesirable. In the case of the three sisters, Doctor Rowcliffe is for them the conquering hero. But he is not a hero. In fact, there is no hero in the book, but only a heroine, Gwenda, the second of the three sisters. She is the most attractive, and at once fascinates Rowcliffe, whom she constantly meets on her rambles on the heath. The youngest sister Ally is delicate, and generally resting on a couch, if not playing the piano, which she does badly. She falls desperately in love with Rowcliffe, for whom, however, she is nothing more than a medical case. His diagnosis about her—which he, in an unguarded moment during a walk on the heath, confides to the horrified Gwenda—is that her sister Ally must marry, else she will lose her reason or die. After this revelation, Gwenda resolves to leave her home so as to clear the way for her sister Ally. In spite of the protest of Rowcliffe, the Vicar, and her sister Ally, she goes to her stepmother in London, who gets for her a secretaryship with a titled lady. Ally guesses the truth, but Rowcliffe does not. Ally subsequently throws herself into the arms of a young farmer, Greatorix by name, who, like the hero of the "Divine Fire," drops his aspirates, and is addicted to wine and women besides, but he has a fine voice, and this fact attracts Ally, whilst Rowcliffe, annoyed with Gwenda, whose immense sacrifice he fails to understand, mopes, in her absence, Mary, the elder sister, a scheming young woman, who takes advantage of the situation. Rowcliffe finds out his mistake when he sees Gwenda again. Gwenda realizes that her sacrifice had not served any purpose, but had ruined his and her life, and that by it she had only played into the hands of her egoistic eldest sister, and abandoned the younger to her fate. But that was not enough. The author had still another sacrifice in store for Gwenda. Being now the only one at home, she has to nurse the half-witted paralytic father in order to fulfil her true womanly mission, according to the opinion of the author. But the women of the present day have resolved no longer to go in for such self-sacrifices as Gwenda chooses, utterly disregarding her own happiness and that of her lover, who, moreover, was unworthy of it. The consequence is that she withers away her great and noble qualities. Nor does Rowcliffe make this self-abnegation easy for her, for he professes to have a right to make love to her after his marriage with Mary. The situation becomes an impossible one, and Gwenda is gradually dragged down from her pinnacle.

We cannot help feeling sorry for Gwenda and her life of self-sacrifice. Miss May Sinclair evidently finds this self-sacrifice the good for which every woman should strive, and she gives us her real mind on the subject in her recent article in *Public Opinion* on "Women's Sacrifice for the War,"

in which she points out how the suffrage movement prepared women to take up professions which had to be evacuated by men enlisting in the new armies, and how in many instances when their services had been accepted these women were actually paying back their wages to the wives and families of the men whose places they had taken. She further suggests that the sacrifice required of women after the war may be just this: "To withdraw from any field where their competition may be disastrous to men." All this seems ideal and beautiful in theory, but is impossible in real life. In fact, it is not human. Surely only selfish men could possibly accept such sacrifices from women as Miss May Sinclair bids them to bring. It would stifle them in their development, and arrest them in their progress. Surely Nature has not intended women to be everlastingly self-sacrificing creatures, but rather that they should be sensible, energetic beings who have a right to shape their lives to the best of their abilities. They have other duties and tasks than merely sacrificing themselves for others. The book reads well, and the remarkable shortness of the chapters is a novelty, doing away with that feeling of dulness that threatens the reader when the author (perhaps too often) indulges in metaphysical reflections à la George Eliot.—L. M. R.

10. OLGA NAZIMOV AND OTHER STORIES. By W. L. George. (*Mills and Boon.*) 6s. net.

The juxtaposition of stories so different in the method of their relation as those contained in Mr George's latest volume is embarrassing to the reviewer, in spite of the fact that the author has provided a classification of his own—"stories," "short dramas," and "grotesques," being the headings under which they are grouped.

"Olga Nazimov" itself, it is interesting to notice, was originally called "The Twenty-Three Days of Nazimov," which title seems more explanatory and in keeping with the conclusion of the chronicle than the one chosen later. For the conclusion of "Olga Nazimov" seems above all a temporal conclusion, one dictated by the first halt that occurred in that swift flowing and intensely passionate series of events, and not in the least a conclusion of the problems and possibilities surging in the story, grasped in a most feeling manner, and conveyed to the reader with equal sensitiveness of language. Of the four "Stories," though "The Cork" shows all Mr. George's delicacy of observation and power of expression, the only one that, to us, is in constant, close relation to the idea of its title, is *The House*. That is a wonderfully truthful and alive piece of work. The merciless exactions of a material symbol of refinement, whose maintenance sucked the Berry family's exchequer dry, and, "above all, . . . towered dominating and gluttonous, crying out perpetually for a monthly payment, for a slate, a tap, a new pane of glass," are admirably realized. The final scene of renunciation, too, is so good. "Evening had come; behind Lamoro Avenue the sun was setting, bathing with mauves and roses the slaty roofs. The house stood in the sumptuous light, large, solid, and imposing, the

emblem of attainment that might have been. The six stood before it as if worshipping it. Like lovers, they sought out the minute beauties of its form; it had meant hope. Now hope had gone with it. There was no bitterness in their minds. One cannot hate that which one loves when it is taken from one, even if it has been a burden, for the burden of such love was a joy. . . .

“The sun went down, and, slowly, the twilight fell over the symbol.”

The short dramas do not, somehow, rise above the expected and the commonplace except in a few instances. “Revenge” and “Sacrifice” are exceptions. In the former the actual incidents of the last stages of a public execution in France are set as a heavy, mechanical accompaniment to the desire for revenge in the minds of three men to whom justice owed a head for the murder of a relative, and the grim facts of which their compensation consisted seem, even to them, strangely empty of the satisfaction they expected.—I. C. W.

CHINESE AND WAR EXHIBITIONS IN LONDON

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION

It may be considered a sign of the vitality of our artists that, in spite of the troubled times in which we are living, and which must necessarily react unfavourably on them and their art, exhibitions are opened and visited as much as in the happy past—*i.e.*, before the war.

Almost simultaneously with the Royal Academy, referred to in our last number, the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers, sent out invitations for a private view.

Although we miss among the exhibitors men like Rodin, Blanche, Lucien Simon, and Sauter, we are glad to say that other talented artists have taken their place. Liberal space has been allotted to the reputed Belgian artists Theo van Rysselberghe and A. Delaunoy. Charles Rickett's "Descent from the Cross," which occupies the centre of the large gallery, has unanimously been pronounced as one of his most important works. Sir Charles Holroyd's "Dead Christ" denotes a new phase which attracts and surprises. Messrs W. Strang, G. Kelly, A. Ludovici, Partridge, and Peppercorn, are among the other important exhibitors of oil-paintings. In contrast to the Royal Academy, war subjects are almost excluded, except in a series of lithographs by Mr. G. Spencer Pryce, which have the interest of having been drawn on the stone within the zone of hostilities. Among these we note the "Fall of Ostend," "British Cavalry Bivouac during the Battle on the Aisne," "Antwerp," etc.

THE NEW ENGLISH ART CLUB

Also the new English Art Club keeps up its reputation. The influence of A. E. John is distinctly waning. Some of the artists seek their inspiration among early Florentines! This is apparent in Mr. C. Robinson's "Orphans," one of the series of decorations illustrating acts of mercy intended for the new entrance-hall of the Middlesex Hospital. The subject lends itself well to the primitive art of Fra Angelico. An oil-painting, by A. E. John, evidently meant for Mr. Bernard Shaw, is powerful, but does not convey the subtle qualities of his expressive face.

LEICESTER GALLERIES

Lady Butler's pictures at the Leicester Galleries are intended to be sold for the benefit of officers' wives and relatives, with the exception of "Scotland for Ever" and "The Charge of the Scots Greys at Waterloo." The historical notes quoted from Victor Hugo and Erckmann Chatrien contribute not a little to the interest of the pictures. Foremost among these are: "On the Morning of Waterloo," "The Fugitive Napoleon," "The Signal of Victory" (the latter shows Wellington at the supreme moment during the Battle of Waterloo). One of the best of the series is "The End," when Wellington's countenance expresses the words he spoke, and which have since become famous "There is nothing sadder than a victory except a defeat." Lady Butler has been rightly compared to Meissonier. She belongs to a past which has not been touched by the evolution which has taken place in modern art, but has continued to paint in that illustrative style which in 1874 brought her success with her "Roll Call."

GRAFTON GALLERIES

At the Grafton Galleries the Royal Society of Portrait Painters hold another of their annual exhibitions. Lord Kitchener is portrayed by the Hon. John Collier. In the same octagonal room is Furse's equestrian portrait of the Earl Roberts of Kandahar, a smaller version of the one in the Tate Gallery. It is a well-defined work, and in some ways superior to the large portrait. John Sargent's "Millicent Duchess of Sutherland," which strikes an eighteenth-century note, has been considered one of the best portraits of the artist.

THE GUILDHALL

Another war exhibition is at the Guildhall. The Napoleonic legend attracts more attention than the representations of the present war. Detaille's "Napoleon receiving the Colours taken from the Enemy," MacIse's "Meeting of Wellington and Blucher after the Battle of Waterloo," and "The Death of Nelson," are interesting because of the subject they represent.

Another noteworthy section of this exhibition are the portraits of great soldiers and statesmen, such as Furse's portrait of Lord Charles Beresford and Mr. Sargent's effective representation of General Sir Ian Hamilton. The Russian painter, M. Seroy, represents the Tsar in uniform, with a brilliancy of execution in the manner of Sargent. M. Henri Jacquier's life-like portrait of General Joffre is distinctly good. Near it is Herkomer's "Field-Marshal the Earl Kitchener," which appears rather tame and lifeless. Highly characteristic, on the other hand, is Goya's portrait of the Duke of Wellington, which is said to have been painted soon after the Battle of Waterloo.

Among the naval pictures we must note Mr. Norman Wilkinson's "H.M.S. *Arethusa*," and Mr. Napier Henry's "Betrayed by the Moon," a night engagement between torpedoes and battleships. The merit of this

picture lies chiefly in the exquisite rendering of the silvery waves, a well-known characteristic of the artist.

COLNAGHI AND OBACH

The Whistler Exhibition at Messrs. Colnaghi and Obach, consisting of no less than fifty-one oil-paintings, water-colours, and pastel drawings, is in aid of the Professional Classes' War Relief Council. It contains only a few first-rate works of the master. The *clou* of the exhibition is by common consent the *œuvre* designated as "Silver and Grey"—the Thames—a picture which perhaps is now more fully understood than at the time of its creation. "L'Echarpe Rose" is another fine example of Whistler's subtle art. "Vert et Gris," a shop in Dieppe, is evidently inspired by Chinese art, for which Whistler had a great admiration and which he often adapted to his work.

MESSRS. AGNEW AND SONS

The Loan Exhibition of a private collection of Dutch and Early English masters, which Messrs. Agnew and Sons have arranged in aid of the Red Cross, is attracting many art-lovers. Most of the pictures are already well known, having been exhibited on former occasions—e.g., Rembrandt's famous "Cook", the "Reading Boy" of Franz Hals, Gainsborough's "Dr. William Pearce," and the charming "Mrs. Huddesford," by Reynolds, in which the English artist did not hesitate to introduce Rembrandt colouring.

After this short survey on European Art we now draw the attention of our readers to the art of the Far East—I mean to the Chinese Exhibition of the Burlington Fine Art Club.

CHINESE ART EXHIBITION AT THE BURLINGTON FINE ART CLUB

The time has passed since we were amused at the so-called *Chinoisseries*, and bought them as knick-knacks, when we only knew of Japanese Art; whilst mysterious China hid away in caves and in the privacy of her temples and palaces her real *œuvres* from the European eyes. It is true that students of Japanese art were aware of the debt that Japan owed to China, and that they guessed that the finest pieces of Japanese sculpture and paintings were inspired, or more often copies from works of the Chinese T'ang Dynasty, A.D. 618-906. Yet it is only since the evolution which has taken place in China some twenty years ago, and which occasioned the plundering of the Summer Palace and the famous cave in which was concealed the much admired pottery "Lo," that Chinese art-treasures were dispersed into American, English, and German collections, a fact which at last afforded us an opportunity to see the Chinese prototypes of the Japanese art with which we had become so familiar.

Tradition tells us of the very early origin of the art of bronze-casting in China. The famous nine bronzes called *t'ing* (food-cauldrons) were admittedly cast about 2205 B.C. under Ta'Yu, one of the Kings of the H'Sia Dynasty. These ancient bronzes were decorated with designs and figures,

and were for 2,000 years preserved as "Palladia" of the kingdom. They seem, however, to have disappeared about 333 B.C. The story runs that in the year 219 B.C. a leader of the succeeding Ch'in Dynasty tried to get them out from the bottom of the S'su River; but when one of the cauldrons was actually fished out with a rope, a dragon suddenly appeared and bit through the rope, thus causing it to disappear again in the water. Superstition prevented it being fished out again.

When in subsequent years—about 116 B.C.—a sacred tripod (*ting*) was excavated from the Ten River, it was regarded as so important an event that the reigning Emperor's name of Yuan-shou was changed into Yuan-ting. And again, when another old bronze cauldron was excavated in A.D. 722 near Yung-ho, that find was celebrated by renaming that city Pao-ting (Tripod city).

One of the most striking bronzes of the exhibition is in Case G (3). It is a sacrificial wine-vessel, a jar of oval shape, with a knobbed cover and arching swing handles. Its workmanship is exquisite. In the same case (10) is another important bronze of the Chou Dynasty (1122-255 B.C.) in form of a trumpet, with bands of low-relief ornaments, and the inscription: "May this bronze be preserved as a sacred *tsun* (wine-vessel) for all times by sons and grandsons." Near it stands a ewer of plainer form used for ceremonial washing of hands.

In Case A there is a highly interesting wine-cup silver case. It is worked in the form of a tree-trunk on which sits "Li-Po," the famous Chinese poet. There are inscriptions on it, giving us the name of the artist, a poem by the same, and the date A.D. 1345. Its history is most interesting. It seems that the cup belonged once to the last Emperor of the Yuan Dynasty; Subsequently it was used by Chu-Pi-Shan, a learned man, at his hall for literary competitions; in 1687 a boatman dredged it up from the bank of the west river, and sold it to Kao-Shih Chi. In 1777 it was acquired by the Emperor Chien Lung, who highly valued it and wrote its description on the box, which ever since has enshrined it. After the looting of the Summer Palace in 1861 it was purchased by a money-lender, and eventually bought by General Sir Robert Bidulph, who very kindly lent the treasure to this exhibition. In connection with this cup we may well be reminded of Marco Polo the Venetian traveller, who relates that he saw at the Court of the Great Khan of China exquisite gold and silver vessels filled with delicacies.

The Cloisonné and Champlevé enamels are another attraction of this interesting exhibition. These are mostly decorative pieces in the shape of horses, mirrors, vases, and temple decorations, some of them of finest workmanship. The art of enamelling, as is well known, has been practised by the Chinese as early as the Tang Dynasty—that is, A.D. 618-906. Yet it is admitted that this art was first introduced into China by the Arabs. and a proof of this may be found in the Chinese denomination of "Fulin," which is a transliteration of the Greek word "Polin," short for "Eis-Ten-Polin" (Constantinople).

It would lead us too far to describe at length all the highly interesting objects which adorn the walls and fill the cases of the Burlington Fine Art

Club's Exhibition Room. We must content ourselves in conclusion by naming only the most noteworthy: Among the paintings the "Girls gathering Chrysanthemums," "A Mountain Landscape" (14), "Pheasants with Rose Mallow" (11), and a rubbing from an incised stone, a record of a picture ascribed to Taotzu, representing Confucius. Among the sculptures one of the most noteworthy objects is the head of a statue, said to be from the Cave Temple of Lungmen, and belonging to the early Tang Dynasty. It is worked in basalt, but its patina now conceals its original colour. The unknown artist who has created it is as accurate as he is realistic. In contemplating this work one is somehow reminded of another very realistic work, though of a much more recent period—namely, the bust of Niccolo da Uzzano by Donatello. The statue of King Kuan-Yin standing on a lotus throne with a lotus flower in his right hand, and holding a palette (according to M. Chavannes) in his left, is most attractive in its mysteriousness. So is the figure in high-relief of Boahisattava (the Chinese Buddha), with two attendants, representing a "Trinity," from the Wei Dynasty. "The Two Emperors," lent by Mr. Shannon and Mr. Rickets offer for experts another interesting problem as to their origin and the period when they were created. They are inscribed A.D. 1491, and bear a remarkable resemblance to the Colossi in the processional avenues to the tombs of the Ming Emperors. This exhibition will at last prove beyond doubt the high standard that Chinese art has occupied in the past—indeed, very different from the cheap Kien-lung porcelain and the late jade and laquer ornaments which have been produced so lavishly in this last century for Western requirements. How vastly superior to knick-knacks of that kind is that figure of bygone ages of greenish jade in Case C, representing a courtier in respectful attitude—a piece of stone, yet imbued with extraordinary sense of life.

L. M. R.

COMMERCIAL NOTES

THE COMING SUGAR CRISIS AND INDIA

THOSE who have to follow day by day the courses of the sugar markets, and to watch from week to week the state of supply and demand, and from season to season the varying statistics of production, know already that we are nearing a very grave crisis in this staple. Roughly, the average supply of the world is about 18,000,000 tons, of which about 9,500,000 tons are cane. Now, it is very well known that of late consumption has increased in all the sugar importing countries. In this country it has greatly advanced, and although India raised last season nearly 2,300,000 tons of sugar, there was still need of an import to balance supply and demand. Then, the United States is a vast consumer. In 1900 the *per capita* per annum consumption was 59 pounds; at the present day it is 85 pounds per head per annum. Now, it is a fact that the countries at war on the Continent mean simply that a production of over two-thirds of the great European beet-sugar supply is cut off altogether, and Europe, which usually raises from 7,000,000 to 8,000,000 tons or more, is certain to be under the necessity of importing to a very great extent. France, usually producing, say, 800,000 tons, and sometimes 900,000 tons, will not turn out this present season more than 300,000 tons, and her own colonies cannot furnish more than, say, 60,000 tons of cane-sugar. The Russian

surplus is cut off by the war from the importing countries, Persia being one, and altogether the entire distributive sugar trade, viewed broadly, is entirely disorganized, and is in a great measure paralyzed by the war. The United States consumes the bulk of the Cuban supply, not to speak of Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines, etc.; and Canada, in exchange for her dried fish, is rapidly absorbing most of the British West Indies surplus. At present in the United Kingdom, thanks to the prudent action of the Government Sugar Commission, large supplies have been purchased; but obviously these purchases, being mostly from Mauritius, Java, and Cuba, eat into the reserves of those countries, and now we know that on the European continent the great central beet belts will not yield next season anything like their customary quantity. War or no war, it is stated that Germany only proposes to sow three-quarters of the usual area, and we doubt if it will be half, because the great beet belts lie north-east, in the way of the war, and Russia loses in Poland a vast potential area, for already the war has devastated the Polish beet-fields, very much as they have been devastated in Belgium and Northern France.

As we write we observe that for the first twenty-three weeks of the present year the total import of raw sugars into the United Kingdom amounted to 278,653 tons, being 105,614 tons less than the quantity for the corresponding period last year. Stocks, too, now stand at 99,448, against 156,199 tons, a year ago. Here, too, is a deficit of over 56,500 tons. It is clear enough that our domestic position this June, statistically, is decidedly very unfavourable.

Prices run high indeed, as against the currencies prior to the war. Choice Demerara (crystallized), which before the war stood at 15s. 6d., is now fully 27s. 3d. per hundred-weight; Mauritius, which was 12s. 6d., is now 26s.! These are hard facts. The question naturally arises, Whence are fresh supplies to come? No doubt in many of the great cane-growing countries the areas are being

increased, as in Australia ; but that Continent barely produces at best enough for domestic consumption. Surely, if we sum up rightly these facts and figures, we have here a wonderful opportunity for India to at once enlarge her sugar-cane areas. No one could have imagined less than a year ago that such a crisis in sugar as the present one was imminent. It is actually coming, and that at a period when the general consumption of sugar is increasing by leaps and bounds, and when prices have reached, too, a level exceedingly remunerative to the producer. India certainly should now take full advantage of what is a very splendid opportunity for producing enough surplus of good cane-sugar to make the British Empire quite independent of Continental supplies. That the whole of the continent of Europe will be an importer now and after the war is certain. The refineries in the West have been dismantled to secure copper, resulting in a complete destruction of plants, while the injury done to the beet belts by trenches, the travel of munitions of war and the like, means the loss of, at the best, a full season or two before former conditions can be even in part restored. India has virtually unlimited resources for raising a really enormous crop of excellent sugar. It may be remarked that in British Guiana there is already a move to increase sugar production ; but labour is wanting, and the planters are thinking of invoking Asiatic labour ! Why should not India forestall this, and show how alive she is to an opportunity for adding very considerably to her trade revenue ? The United Kingdom has been paying Germany alone some millions sterling a year for sugar, and the consumptive needs of the Mother Country increase apace. It is surely not forgotten that cane-sugar was first introduced in the West from India. The very name in Sanscrit, *sarcara*, indicates the antiquity of the culture, but it was not until the sixteenth century that the sugar-cane of India was introduced into the West Indies, where the supply is chiefly tapped for the North American markets.

In India certainly lies the promise of a very great trade with Great Britain and Western Europe, if only capital and enterprise are at once forthcoming to properly extend the areas of production. Then, besides the United Kingdom, India might, if only production were increased indefinitely, supply the importing Mediterranean countries which are likely to suffer severely ere long from the shortage on the European Continent. We may take it that France, Belgium, Germany, and Austria-Hungary will all be needing supplies themselves. Can Russia alone, raising normally about 1,000,000 to 1,250,000 tons, fill up the tremendous gulf between supply and demand? Spain and Italy produce a moderate quantity entirely absorbed domestically, and the Egyptian crop does not amount to very much in these estimates covering the whole world. Most decidedly India ought to be awakened thoroughly to an opportunity which, if missed, may never return.

PERCY RUSSELL.

LONDON THEATRES

Savoy Theatre—"The Angel in the House."

Hyacinth Reverell is "the angel," so called by his mother in a letter, written just before she died, to her old friend Sir Rupert Bindross, asking him to receive her son as his guest in his country home. Hyacinth arrives, rather less of an angel than everyone has imagined. He is a selfish, conceited, and pedantic man of about forty, with ultra-modern ideals on art and eugenics. He turns the house upside down to suit himself, at the same time telling his harassed host that all he wants to do is to fit in with his, Sir Rupert's, ways. After a few days, however, everyone has fallen in with Hyacinth's ways, and he is loved by all, with the exception of the two young men who are engaged to Sir Rupert's daughters. Hyacinth talks to the girls and persuades them, for the sake of the "unborn," to break off their engagements and to exchange fiancés.

The girls break off their engagements, but soon renew them, and the house is then divided, the engaged couples against Hyacinth, Sir Rupert, and Lady Sarel, an old friend who is staying in the house as chaperone to the girls. Hyacinth talks to her also, and tells her that he wishes her to marry Sir Rupert, whom he looks upon as his father, in order that he may be provided with a mother. Lady Sarel is very unwilling, as she is in love with Hyacinth, but eventually she decides to sacrifice herself. All go for a picnic to a Greek temple on an island, and there Lady Sarel puts the matter to Sir Rupert, who is no more willing than she. However, he finally agrees, and is just about to propose when news comes that another lady has arrived to stay whom Sir Rupert infinitely prefers to Lady Sarel. He rushes off in high delight. This has been arranged by the others, who hope that if Hyacinth and Lady Saul are left alone on the island they will become engaged, and so interfere no more. They know that Lady Sarel is in love with Hyacinth, and they have great hopes of his malleability if he once becomes cold. When he is warm he is adamant, but when cold he is like wax. Hyacinth becomes colder and colder, and turns to Lady Sarel for comfort. They eventually lie in each other's arms, and Lady Sarel lends Hyacinth her flannel petticoat. So they are found by the rescue party. Hyacinth, overcome by petticoat generosity, and also by Lady Sarel's powerful circulation, is led to the altar.

Mr. H. B. Irving was good, but he had a ridiculous part to play. *Lady Tree* was *Lady Tree*, and the rest were not remarkable.—G. C. W.

"Armageddon," by Stephen Phillips, with its beginning and ending in a very earthly looking hell, and its hellish interludes on earth was—what shall we call it?—an extravaganza on the present European War. We think that the dramatist of "*Ulysses*" took not the warning of his own play, and tried to draw a bow which only an Ithacan king could master. That Ithacan king, in this case, has yet to be found—suffice it to say that he is neither Barrie nor Stephen Phillips.

On the other hand, as a series of lightning sketches the play had much to recommend it. The German headquarters at Rheims, the brutal Commander-in-Chief, the Abbé (Martin Harvey) come to ask that the cathedral be spared lectured in "*Kultur*," the French spy shot in front of his love, his love shooting herself instead of the Field-Marshal—golden opportunity lost for ever—the singing of German songs, the drinking of French wine, the drastic quietus administered through a turpentine shell—it was all very inspiring. This was one of many scenes—all dramatic and well acted withal. In the last act we find the British Commander-in-Chief overruling the decisions of his French and Belgian confidères, and sparing Cologne Cathedral.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

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THE UNITED BALKAN STATES

BY OLIVER BAINBRIDGE*

"First of all we must have union, union, union; and when we are free, each shall have what belongs to him."—LINOR BEN KARAVELOV (a famous Bulgarian author).

THE two recent wars which left the Balkan States bleeding at every pore, instead of extricating them from their entanglement, have compelled them to sink deeper and deeper into it. Their guilt in their peculiar circumstances is far less than that of certain Powers whose interests in these events was intense.

The union of the Balkan States would forestall Germany's chances of eventually taking Constantinople, which is one of the most important military and naval centres in the whole world. If Constantinople were in her hands, she would not only make it impregnable but equally strong for offensive purposes, and control the Balkan States, with their incomparable strategic positions, Asia Minor, the Levant, North Africa, and the Syrian coast.

The Balkan States have always been a fertile source of jealousy and intrigue, and to-day they present a political phenomenon which British statesmen must grapple and conquer, for the time is at hand when their aspirations can

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neither be ignored with impunity nor repressed without danger.

I have never been able to understand why men are elected as Members of the British Parliament who, with a few notable exceptions, have made no attempt to produce in themselves that condition of intellect which would enable them to look at things from the standpoint of other and widely differing peoples. Their impressions on international questions may be quite honest, but the confusion that has arisen in the Balkans from such vague and loose notions cannot be gauged by any known measures of human computation. The impressions which they have of these States are not their possession in any true sense of the word. They have not searched for them, dug for them, formed them for themselves. No hard and faithful mental labour of their own has earned them, established them, verified them. They have received them as easily and passively as the earth receives the rain, which is again drawn away from it by the first rays of the sun. They change with changing influences, and are parted with as lightly as they are received. Certainly such opinions are not entitled to our respect. When they are announced they carry no weight with them; nor does any amount of asseveration add to their value.

In no department of life is zeal without knowledge more dangerous than in politics. If we trace out the needless suffering inflicted by ignorant statesmen upon the peoples of the Balkans we will find it to be quite unintentional, involuntary, and even unknown to them. They would be the first to plead that there has been no such purpose. They forget that "Evil is wrought by want of thought as well as by want of heart." That they meant no harm to the Balkan peoples is well; but their responsibility does not end there. They should have been very sure that their acts were as free from harm as their intentions.

How few there are who recognize fairly how much the Balkan States have done and are still doing, how much

they have had to suffer, what difficulties they have overcome, and with what disadvantages they are still contending.

The humane instincts of British statesmen should urge them to try and arrive at a reasonable appreciation of the actual situation in the Balkans by a careful study of the stages through which it has passed, for it is only by throwing a direct light upon the questions which interest them most—and these are necessarily also the questions which divide them most—that we can assist these peoples to arrive at anything like a solution. The Balkan question is in reality a number of questions, all of which must be considered in their correct relation to one another.

The peoples of the Balkans believe that Britain is so honest that they can rely on her integrity, so sincere that they never doubt her truth, so just that they can confide their interests into her hands, so truly kind and generous that they are sure she will do them good and not harm. They know that wherever the Government of Britain extends it has put a stop to oppressions and violence, and introduced beneficent laws which have considerably diminished the misery of the world. Egypt, the Soudan and India are towering monuments to Britain's humane endeavour. It is very necessary to remember here that in India, where Britain has wrought one of the miracles of history, there is a great congeries of races numbering over 300,000,000, who speak 180 different languages, and are divided by 2 378 caste or religious barriers.

The Balkan States united would mean their immediate introduction as a recognized element into the political calculations of the world. Support would come to them from every quarter, for it is ever the strong and resolute who attract friends, but while they remain apart they subserve the ambitions of their enemies, who treat them as lawful prey, and exhibit them before the world as uncivilized, incompetent, untrustworthy States.

If Britain would initiate a frank understanding with them as to their aims, to secure agreement to definite boundaries,

and to form a union of interests with them, I am satisfied they possess the strength of character and fixity of purpose to follow out implicitly the course agreed upon. Britain's vital interests are bound up with the federation and independence of the Balkan States, and circumstances throw upon her the right, the duty, and the power of defending them. With the assistance of Britain, I cannot see anything to prevent a complete political union preserving a certain local autonomy, subject to the central power, directing all the States towards the unity of the national end. This is the only mode of guaranteeing the rights of the Balkan States, which are not strong enough to be independent. What question can be of importance more fundamental? And why should it not be settled rationally? There surely cannot be any difference among the States in their views of the wisdom of the step. Is it not better for these peoples to come together and develop the vast trade resources at their disposal, than that they should decimate themselves and ruin their countries by perpetual internecine strife.

How ungrateful and loathsome a thing it is to live in a state of enmity, wrath, dissension, having the thoughts distracted with solicitous care, anxious suspicion, and envious regret. And, contrariwise, how contentful the whole life of those that neither devise mischief against others, nor suspect any to be contrived against themselves. The peoples of the Balkans must remember that it is unseemly, and altogether below the intelligence and dignity of men to bend their sails before every wandering gust of passion, and school themselves into the repression of their wilder moods. One would think that the subject needs only to be mentioned to carry conviction to the worst slaves of passion. The master who is not master of himself can claim scant honour from extraneous conquests. There is a deep truth in the Chinese proverb, "He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city."

The peoples of the Balkans cannot deny that a forgiving disposition is not only commendable but commanded in all men. So long as human nature is liable to error, we must allow an opportunity of repentance, and, on the showing of that, be prepared to pardon. But great care must, at the same time, be taken that an easy access to pardon does not lead to a facility in error, otherwise one great check upon human conduct will be lost. They must not be allowed to suppose that the apology or profession of repentance is a real and full expiation of their error, a thing which may be fairly set against the other, as money is set against goods in a ledger. They should be made to know that something else is required for expiation—the generous forgiveness of the injured party—and that, in getting this, they incur a debt, one which may never be paid, and may trouble them for ever.

By a judicious arrangement of frontiers in accordance with the conditions and ideals of to-day, the Balkan States would not only bring about a change of infinite advantage to themselves but to the world in general, and if the “expert” is left out of the proceedings and the common sense of the common people is consulted and considered when these changes are proposed, it will be comparatively easy. There are some obstacles which they must overcome. Napoleon once said, “All the great captains have performed vast achievements by conforming to the rules of the art, by adjusting efforts to obstacles.” But those who fear obstacles, who hate and avoid whatever is hard and unpleasant, need never hope to attain to greatness, nor even true success in the arts of either peace or war. The rights and prejudices of the peoples must be respected, and their general interests consulted, for a population, even though naturally belonging to a certain nation, must not be forced into union with it, any more than it ought to be prevented from uniting with it; consent is equally necessary for incorporation with the naturally like and for submission to the naturally unlike.

No one will deny that few things are more calculated to weld men together than those common temperaments, habits, and types of character which, modified as they may be by climate and other local influences, are popularly believed to be the distinctive and indestructible attributes of different families of the human race, especially when, as often happens, the bonds of racial affinity are strengthened by a common religious faith and worship. A nation, we are told, is a free and spontaneous association of persons who, by community of blood, of language, of appetite, by an affinity of civil life, of temperament, of vocation, are apt and predisposed to the greatest social union. A nation has two essential rights – one that of internal sovereignty, which is the right of forming its moral unity and organizing itself politically in a manner conformable to its civil needs; the other is the right of autonomy and independence as towards other nations, or of external sovereignty. No nation is rightfully the superior of another, and therefore from the rights of nationality flows the right of autonomy and independence as regards other nations, or that of external sovereignty. “Free institutions,” John Stuart Mill says, “are next to impossible in a country made of different nationalities. Where the sentiment of nationality exists in any force the members of the nationality should be united under the same government, and a government to themselves apart.”

No political fact is of more importance and interest in modern continental history than the tenacity with which the Balkan peoples preserve their pride of nationality, and there is in the future very little probability that they will ever lose it. Centuries have passed since the provinces which now form the Balkan Kingdoms lost their independence, strenuous efforts were made to stamp out the recollections of that independence, and yet the peoples of these kingdoms retain their national pride and patriotic feelings as tenaciously as Englishmen or Frenchmen.

The Balkan peoples, who first waited and plotted, and

then fought desperately under their able Generals, had every reason to cry out for freedom. If they had remained merely whimpering under the Turkish whip, they would have deserved to be spurned by all who bear the hearts of men. They were denied the meanest privileges of humanity; they lived in a fashion which was rather like the violent, oppressed, hideous existence which men imagine in evil dreams, and at length they struck and declared for liberty or annihilation—and won.

These picturesque men, whose brimless wool caps and bronzed skins give an added charm to the sweet interchange of hill and dale of the Balkan countries, are quiet, simple fellows, whose courage in the field is that of a resolute and uncalculating obedience. Domestic in their habits, rural in their pursuits, and fighting the battle of ordinary life under hard conditions, they are not easily influenced by the jingoism of copiously talkative coffee-house politicians, of which, unfortunately, there is a great number in these countries. They detest war, for they know only too well the vigour with which it has exercised its functions in the causation of commercial distress, privation, wounds, disease, and death. They have measured the waste that has been inflicted upon them, and wonder if their leaders will study the recent pages in their melancholy history, which are singularly full of instruction, and reach an affinity of understanding by which they will realize the true meaning of that sombre triumphant word "Liberty."

It is time that the statesmen of the Balkans ceased to be "politicians" and became patriots, ceased groping about in a state of blindness, and correctly estimated the position of their countries in the European world, for their enemies are planning to wipe them out from the list of nations. They are spending their energy in thinking what they ought to have done, and chiding themselves for not having done it instead of planning how to do it. Life is really too short for this kind of thing; there is too much to be achieved in the present and in the future to justify continuous dwelling

on unimproved opportunities in the past. It is always in order and in time to turn over a new leaf, to begin again, to make stepping-stones of the sins and errors and mistakes of the past, remembering them only so much and so long as to learn how to avoid and overcome them in the future.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF PERSIA

(ELAM, MEDIA, AND THE RISE OF THE ACHÆMENIAN
DYNASTY)

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL P. M. SYKES, C.M.G., C.I.E.

Gold Medalist of the Royal Geographical Society. Author of
"A History of Persia"

THE ancient history of Persia covers so vast a period that it is difficult to deal with it in a single paper. I propose in the first place to give an outline of the very little that we know about the kingdom of Elam, with its capital Susa. Elam, as we shall see, fell before the hosts of Assyria, but further north, on the western side of Persia, the Medes were at this time organizing themselves into a state which ultimately captured proud Nineveh. The Medes in their turn gave place to their kinsmen, the Persians, under Cyrus the Great. The achievement of this truly great Aryan, whom we can claim as an honoured kinsman, will be dealt with in some detail, as he is the true founder of the Persian Empire, which, through Media and Elam, possesses an historical existence of more than four thousand years.

ELAM, THE HOME OF THE EARLIEST CIVILIZATION OF PERSIA

We do not seek for the earliest civilization of Persia on its plateau, where there are no important rivers which would favour its growth. In the whole of the vast area

there is but one navigable river, the Karun, and it is in its valley that we find the earliest civilization in what was generally known as the kingdom of Elam. This was a state bordering on ancient Sumer and Akkad; like them situated, partly at any rate, on a rich alluvial plain, faced with somewhat similar problems, leading a similar life, and, if not related in similarity of origin or in language, yet connected from the first by raids and counter-raids, and later on by intercourse of every description. I propose, so far as is possible, to trace briefly the history of Elam. Later, we shall come down to the period when the inhabitants of the Iranian plateau conquered the developed civilizations of Babylonia, Assyria, and Elam, which, in their turn, deeply affected their conquerors, who adopted their arts and civilization, and made Susa, the centre of the oldest civilization in what is still the Persian Empire, their capital.

THE EPIC OF GILGAMESH.—One of the greatest, and certainly one of the most interesting, epics in the history of mankind is that of Gilgamesh, containing a legend of the Deluge, from which that in Holy Writ was inspired, Gilgamesh himself probably being the Nimrod of the Book of Genesis. In it the subjection of Elam is dealt with, and although the mists of antiquity lie low over the episodes, there is no doubt that these legends possess an historical basis, and are therefore of considerable value.

This old-world story runs that Khumbaba, king of Elam, had invaded Babylonia, had razed its temples, and had substituted the worship of Elamite gods for the local deities. In this crisis all hopes rested on Gilgamesh and his devoted follower, Eabani. The heroes set out to meet the Elamite invader, and heard from a female magician that the foe was concealed in a sacred grove. Undeterred by fear, they pressed on, "and stopped in rapture for a moment before the cedar-trees; they contemplated the height of them, they contemplated the thickness of them, the place where Khumbaba was accustomed to walk up and down with rapid strides, alleys were made in it, paths

kept up with great care." The Elamite king, surprised when about to take his outdoor exercise, was slain, and the heroes returned in triumph to Erech, the well-protected. Here, apart from the extraordinarily modern habit of the Elamite monarch in taking exercise in a well-kept pleasaunce, and the evident wonder and joy shown in the sacred grove, we note that Elam, as in the earliest historical times, raided the rich lowlands.

SUSA, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL.—We owe practically all our knowledge of the ancient history of Elam to excavations conducted at Susa. It is therefore desirable to give some account of the famous capital of Elam and of the important secrets it has yielded.

The mounds of Shush, or Susa, are situated some thirty miles from the hills, and are, to judge from their position, of great antiquity. Indeed, Susa may claim to be the oldest known site in the world. These ruins of Susa were first visited, in 1850, by Loftus, who expended a small grant in excavations. An Englishman was thus the pioneer in this truly magnificent task; but it is to the talented sons of France, supported generously by their Government, that the chief credit belongs of drawing back the veil from a totally forgotten past of glorious history, and of adding yet another to the list of great Oriental monarchies.

The French Government despatched two expeditions, the first of which, under Dieulafoy, took up the work of Loftus, and discovered that the palace of Darius had been destroyed by fire, and that more than a century later, Artaxerxes Mnemon had raised on its ruins a still more splendid edifice. Dieulafoy merely continued the excavations of Loftus, and it was reserved for another Frenchman, De Morgan, to complete the achievements of his fellow-countrymen by discovering Elam and its history in the lower strata of the same mound.

To the traveller crossing the level plains, the mounds of Susa appear to rise to a great height, and it is not difficult to imagine how imposing they must have been crowned

with splendid palaces, and probably set in palm-groves amid a sea of waving corn, the whole picture being backed by range after range of grim mountains rising in sombre majesty to snow-capped peaks.

De Morgan divides the ruins into four chief quarters. The citadel is the smallest mound in area, but the most important owing to its altitude. It rises 38 metres above the plain, and measures 450 by 250 metres. It dominates the plain more than its mere height would suggest, owing partly to its steep sides, which are difficult to ascend.

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD.—We now come to the earliest periods into which De Morgan divides the history of Elam. First of all there is the pre-historic period, subdivided into two, in neither of which have metals been discovered, though, of course, this negative information is not conclusive. Pottery of a good class was dug up in the lowest stratum 20 metres below the surface, whereas the pottery found in the stratum above is of a coarse and less artistic type. Bricks were also found resembling the segment of a ring, badly baked, and equally badly shaped.

THE ARCHAIC PERIOD.—Just above the prehistoric zone the French Mission discovered a layer of earth some 6 feet thick, in which nothing was found; and the theory was formed that the prehistoric city had been destroyed by a higher race, which covered up the ruins with earth before commencing the construction of a new city. In the next, or Archaic, zone were found tablets of unbaked clay with Archaic writing, and also unguent vases, but very little pottery. De Morgan believed that this period should be dated about 4000 B.C.

ELAM, SUMER, AND AKKAD.—The earliest connection between Elam and its neighbours is perhaps enshrined in the epic of Gilgamesh; but as we come down the centuries, we find brief notices of Elam in the inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad. For example, Eannatum, who was priest-king of Lagash in 2900 B.C., has left an inscription, which runs: "By Eannatum was Elam broken in the head; Elam was

driven back to his own land," the metaphor being taken from a mace, which was then a favourite weapon.

THE EARLIEST KNOWN LETTER AND ELAM.—The earliest example of a letter which has been found in Babylonia relates to Elam. The writer, who was the chief priest of the goddess Ninmar, informs his correspondent that a band of Elamites had raided Lagash territory, and that he had defeated them with heavy loss. The date of this document must be about 2850 B.C.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF ELAM BY DUNGI.—About 2400 B.C., under the dynasty of Ur, Elam for the first time came under the permanent administration of Sumer. Tablets have been found at Tello, the site of Lagash, which contain orders for supplies to be given to officials passing through that city on their way between Ur and their posts in Elam. The functions of these officers were mainly the recruiting of labour for the king's great buildings, the transport of material, and the control of supplies. From the number of places mentioned, it is clear that Dungi's authority in Elam was not confined to a few cities, but was established practically over the whole country. Susa was in all probability the local capital, and Dungi rebuilt the temple of Shushinak, the national god.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE DYNASTY OF UR BY ELAM.—The fall of the dynasty of Ur was caused by an Elamite invasion, its last king being captured and taken as a prisoner to Anshan. Few details are known, but it is reasonable to suppose that, as the dynasty became weak, Elam recovered its liberty, and finally turned on its oppressor.

THE SACK OF ERECH BY KUDUR-NANKHUNDI, 2280 B.C.—Connected with the downfall of Ur is the sack of Erech by an Elamite king. The knowledge of this event reaches us in a way that is truly remarkable. When Assurbanipal captured Susa in 645 B.C. he recovered and restored to Erech the image of the goddess Nana, which Kudur-Nankhundi had carried off 1,635 years before. This

amazing piece of history is accepted as genuine, and it points to 2280 B.C. as the date of the campaign. The sack of Erech could not have occurred when the dynasty of Ur was in possession of Elam, and consequently no more probable epoch for this event can be found than that of the Elamite invasion, which brought about the destruction of the dynasty of Ur.

ELAM AND BABYLON.—Before we consider the relations of Elam with the earliest dynasties of Babylon which succeeded those of Sumer and Akkad, it will be interesting to look back and gain a general impression of its internal condition. It may be accepted that Elam was, throughout, more backward and less developed than its western neighbours. This we naturally infer from its hilly formation, which prevented easy communication, and provided few large tracts of fertile land, and the scanty information at our disposal tends to prove that the inference is correct. Raids and not conquest were the aim of its endeavours, and until a foreign yoke welded the loose congeries of tribes into a nation, it does not appear that Elam obeyed a single ruler. Nor is it at all certain that the hill tracts were subdued when the cities of the plains were brought under the rule of the Babylonian monarchs; indeed, De Morgan holds that the Elamites of the hills never lost their independence. In any case, the length of time under review is so great—covering as it does a period equal to that separating the Norman Conquest from the twentieth century—that there was ample time for the wild tribesmen to unite with the inhabitants of the plain and develop into citizens of an empire which was an altogether worthy antagonist, first of Babylonia, and later of Assyria.

CHEDORLAOMER, KING OF ELAM.—The most important figure after Kudur-Nankhundi is Kudur-Lagamar, the Chedorlaomer of Holy Writ. This mighty conqueror extended the empire of Elam to the Mediterranean Sea, and it is interesting to read of his campaigns in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, which is believed to be one of

the oldest parts of the book. An account is given of a campaign known as the battle of four kings against five, verse 9 running: "With Chedorlaomer the king of Elam, and with Tidal king of nations, and Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ellasar; four kings with five." It is probable that Tidal was king of the Khatti or Hittites, that Amraphel was Hammurabi, king of Sumer, and that Arioch of Ellasar represents the dynasty of Larsam. The four kings overthrew the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, and other neighbouring city-states, and incidentally carried off Lot, who was rescued by Abraham.

SHUTRUK-NAKHUNTA, KING OF ELAM, CIRCA 1190 B.C.—Among the famous warrior-kings of this period was Shutruk-Nakhunta, who not only conquered Babylon, but removed to Susa the choicest works of art from the cities he laid waste. It is thanks to this action that De Morgan's labours have been so richly rewarded, the famous stele of Naram-Sin, for example, having been transported by this monarch from Babylon, to be found by the French archæologist some 3,000 years later.

Shutruk-Nakhunta was succeeded by a great administrator, who was also a great builder. De Morgan owes much to him, for he never inscribed his name on a restored temple without also mentioning the original founder. Even better, he transcribed word for word the old commemorative inscriptions of the Semitic language, and added the Anzanite translation, with the result that we have, with an interval of 2,000 years between them, two editions of the first text, and marvel at the antiquity of the people of Elam. This was their golden age in art and literature, and stelæ, columns of bronze, bricks, and inscriptions belonging to it abound.

THE RISE OF ASSYRIA.—The "Land of Assur" was originally the territory belonging to the city of the same name. Like the city-states of Babylonia, it was ruled by priest-kings, who, as in the case of the older civilization, in time developed into powerful monarchs. The first mention

of the city of Assur is in a letter of the time of Hammurabi, when it apparently formed part of the empire of that great monarch. Between 1800 and 1500 B.C. Assyria won its independence. As it expanded it moved steadily northwards. The ancient capital, Assur, was superseded, as the seat of empire, first by Kalkhi, on the site of the modern Nimrod, and finally by Nineveh. Situated on the only route connecting Babylonia with the west, the desert forming a barrier against all direct communications, Assyria, in the course of its development, naturally conquered the neighbouring states.

THE FIRST BATTLE BETWEEN ASSYRIA AND ELAM.—It was under Sargon II., who came to the throne in 722 B.C., that Assyria for the first time met Elam in a pitched battle. The engagement was stubbornly contested and sanguinary. Both sides claimed the victory, but the Elamites had to retire, and so the battle of Durilu constituted a defeat though not a crushing one, for the Elamite army.

We now come to the reign of Sennacherib, who raided the seacoast of Elam. His object was to attack Chaldean refugees who were trying to found a new state, and to some extent he succeeded; but while his army was plundering the seacoast of Elam, Northern Babylonia was being laid waste by the active Elamites under Khalludush, who even captured the king's son.

A revolution in Elam, in which Khalludush was besieged in his palace and put to death, gave Sennacherib an opportunity of which he did not hesitate to take advantage, and for the first time the Assyrian army was able to ravage the rich plain on which Susa stands. The Assyrian monarch recorded the result as follows: "Thirty-four strongholds and townships depending on them whose number is unequalled I besieged and took by assault, their inhabitants I led into captivity, I demolished them and reduced them to ashes. I caused the smoke of their burning to rise into the wide heaven, like the smoke of one great sacrifice."

Assurbanipal succeeded to the empire in 668 B.C. Three

years later, when the Assyrian forces were in far-off Egypt, the Elamites, who evidently thought the opportunity too good to be lost, suddenly crossed the Tigris under Urtaku, and devastated the land far and wide. Babylon was too strong to be captured, and so the Elamites, following their usual practice, returned to Susa laden with booty. There, however, Urtaku died, and the coincidence of his death with that of other leaders left Elam a prey to anarchy. Urtaku was succeeded by his brother Teumman, whose attempts to murder his nephews caused sixty princes, with a considerable following, to flee to the Court of Assurbanipal. There they were received with honour, as it was hoped through their instrumentality to weaken Elam by means of civil war. The policy was successful, for these family feuds were the ultimate cause of the downfall of Elam.

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF ASSURBANIPAL AGAINST ELAM.—A few years later Teumman, firmly seated on the throne, made an alliance with the Gambula, who occupied the Tigris fords, and thus opened the road to Babylon. Before crossing the frontier he offered Assurbanipal the choice between war and the surrender of the refugees from Elam. The Assyrian monarch could not agree to a demand which would have been looked upon as a confession of utter weakness, and war therefore became inevitable. The Assyrian army advanced with great rapidity. Teumman concentrated his forces, and slowly withdrawing to Tulliz, a town close to Susa, prepared to fight a decisive battle with his left flank resting on the Karun, and his right protected by a wood. At the same time, as all his troops had not arrived, he despatched one of his generals, by name Ituni, to open up negotiations with a view to gaining time. The Assyrian commander, however, saw through the ruse, and gave orders for the envoy to be decapitated. The battle hung in the balance for a long while; but at length the Assyrians swept the Elamite left wing into the Karun, until the river was choked with the corpses of men and horses. Teumman

fought like a hero, leading charge after charge until he was wounded. He then attempted to escape in a chariot, but one of its wheels broke against a tree, and he was thrown out. The Assyrian pursuers were close at hand, under the command of an exiled Elamite prince thirsting for revenge. Teumman was again wounded, and, feeling furious that an Elamite should lead the foe, cried out to his son to shoot him. The youth having missed his mark, was himself wounded by darts and despatched by a blow from the mace of the Elamite prince, while Teumman's head was cut off and sent to Nineveh. This crushing victory was duly celebrated, as was customary, by beating the rank and file to death and flaying alive the generals and other superior officers, the chiefs alone being reserved to grace the triumph.

In the second campaign against Elam Assyria again reaped the benefit of internal dissensions in the Elamite royal family. Tammarithu, brother of the king, murdered his brother, and usurped the throne. He was soon forced to flee, and was seized and sent to Nineveh, where he was kindly treated. A few years later he was restored by an Assyrian army, but attempted to massacre his allies. The plot was revealed, and he was thrown into prison, but the Assyrians retired to Nineveh.

THE CAPTURE AND SACK OF SUSA, 645 B.C.—Assurbanipal, dissatisfied with the meagre results of the campaign, sent the treacherous Tammarithu to demand the surrender of some Chaldean refugees and of the goddess Nana; but Khumban-Khaldash, who had been placed on the throne by the nobles, knew that to accede would mean his own death, and preferred to resist to the bitter end. But on this occasion the Assyrian forces were too strong, and after burning fourteen royal cities, found Susa at their mercy. An Assyrian army had twice before entered Susa in the guise of allies; but now the soldiers of Assur were able to gratify their ancient hatred, and to satisfy their lust of pillage to the full. The booty was rich. Apart from treasures looted in bygone days from Sumer and Akkad,

there was the gold and silver of the temples of Babylon, which had been used to secure the Elamite alliance. The gods, too, whose sanctuaries were violated and whose treasures were sacked, were sent to Nineveh, together with thirty-two statues of Elamite monarchs in gold, silver, bronze, and marble. Finally, the tombs of the ancient heroes were broken open, and their bones despatched to Nineveh, where, in a supposed exquisite refinement of cruelty, libations were offered, by means of which the souls chained to the crumbling bones were kept alive to taste to the full the bitterness and humiliation of exile. In short, everything was done that malice or cruelty could suggest to fill the cup of bitterness. To quote the glowing words of Ezekiel: "There is Elam, and all her multitude round about her grave; all of them slain, fallen by the sword."

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF ELAM.—Elam as a kingdom had fallen, and, even if there still remained independent hill tribes, her memory passed away, and was lost in a mist of fable and legend. It is not unprofitable, before we leave it, to look back for a moment at her history. Elam in her earliest days was a predatory power, and so she remained throughout. At the same time, she developed her own system of writing, her own art, and to a certain extent her own civilization. But she raided rather than subdued, and made little serious attempt at empire, and when she tried to organize her conquests she signally failed. In relation to Babylon her behaviour might perhaps be compared with that of the "thrasher" to the whale; she raided the great kingdom relentlessly, and although her resources were incomparably more slender, she almost invariably succeeded in bringing booty safely back to Susa. Brought face to face with Assyria, when the intervening buffer states had been absorbed, Elam fought heroically against superior organization, forces, and equipment. Even so, thanks to her inaccessibility and valour, she might well have survived Assyria but for civil dissensions, which again and again paralyzed her arms at the most critical juncture. In the

end she fell, and so entirely was her greatness forgotten that, in the pages of Strabo, we read that the Persians placed the capital at Susa because of its situation and the importance of the city, and also because "it had never of itself undertaken any great enterprise, and had always been in subjection to other people."

Hitherto, in the course of our survey, civilization has been concerned almost entirely with the low-lying plains where primitive man developed until great cities such as Susa, Babylon, and Nineveh were built, and where, finally, the whole of the Near East and Egypt were irresistibly swept into the orbit of a great predominant Semitic state. Leaving these plains, with their comparatively old and developed civilization, we ascend to the Iranian plateau, where, just as the physical characteristics differ, so also do the inhabitants. Upon reaching the plateau we have passed from areas dominated by Semitic influence to a country where the Aryan is the ruling race, although deeply influenced by the more civilized powers of Babylonia and Assyria.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE ARYANS IN PERSIA.—It is believed that the Medes migrated into Persia from Southern Russia, and, finding the kingdom of Urartu, or Ararat, too strong to be attacked, avoided it, and gradually occupied the western side of the Iranian plateau. Other Aryan tribes occupied districts of Asia Minor farther west, where they were found by Cyaxares. Another Aryan branch, that of the Persians, entered Eastern Persia from the steppes to the north of Khorasan, and, traversing the province of Kerman, occupied Fars. Their western frontiers would touch those of the tribes under Elamite influence.

THE DATES OF THE MIGRATION.—The fact that the Kassites were an Aryan tribe which founded a dynasty about 1700 B.C., and was heard of during the first dynasty of Babylon, helps to date this migration more definitely than could be done until the identity of the Kassites had been established. Again, the recently discovered tablets at

Boghaz Kyöi (Pteria) in Cappadocia, on one of which, a document of a diplomatic character, oaths are taken by the Aryan deities Indra and Varuna, prove the date of the Aryans to have preceded 1400 B.C.

THE RISE OF MEDIA.—The kingdom of the Medes arose in the centre of the Zagros range and the fertile plains to the east of it. It was formed by the union of the six most important tribes under one rule. At first the district around Hamadan was organized; but the rising power soon extended its territories until its northern boundary was the Caspian Sea.

THE EXPEDITION OF TIGLATH-PILESER I., CIRCA 1100 B.C.—If the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser are to be relied on, the Assyrians in the twelfth century B.C. overran the Iranian plateau as far east as the modern province of Herat, then termed Ariarmi, and other provinces of Afghanistan. But De Morgan believes that this campaign did not extend beyond the Lut, and was, in all probability, directed against the Medes and kindred tribes. No more invasions of Media are described until the ninth century, when, under Shaimaneser, under Ramman-Nirari III. (whose wife, Sammuramat, is probably the Semiramis of legend), and other monarchs, Media was invaded time after time, and thousands of slaves and horses were brought back, together with tribute of lapis lazuli.

ECBATANA THE CAPITAL.—This historical city is first mentioned, under the name of Amadana, in the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., and in ancient Persian inscriptions it appears as Hagmatana, or "The meeting-place of many roads"; the Greeks termed it Ecbatana. Hamadan, to give its modern name, is situated at the foot of Mount Alvand, the classical Orontes, a mighty granite range rising more than 12,000 feet above sea-level, or just 6,000 feet above Hamadan, the climate of which, though severe in winter, is delightful in summer. Its situation marked it out for a capital. It is protected by Alvand to the south and south-west, and commands the route to Babylonia and Assyria, and also the plains of upland

Persia. Placed at a point where many roads meet, and surrounded by a fertile, well-watered plain, it is not surprising that, through all its vicissitudes, Hamadan has invariably been an important centre.

The Masallah hill, on which once stood the famous capital of Media, lies to the east of the modern city. The walls, seven in number, were concentric, and so arranged that they rose one above the other by the height of their battlements. The royal palace and treasuries were situated within the seventh wall, which had its battlements gilded, the other walls being decorated in various colours. The whole design was derived from Babylonia, where, in the Birs Nimrud of Borsippa, each stage was coloured differently, to symbolize the sun, the moon, and the planets.

THE CONQUEST OF THE PERSIANS BY THE MEDES.—The Persians had probably, like the Medes, partly absorbed and partly driven out the older occupants of the soil. At this period, being divided up into independent tribes, they were apparently unable to offer a successful resistance to the relatively well-organized Medes, and were absorbed, so far as is known, without any desperate contests. But it is necessary to bear in mind that the Medes have left no authentic documents of any kind, and in piecing together their history we have to rely mainly on the work of Herodotus.

Owing to the peace which existed towards the end of Assurbanipal's reign, the Medes despised that monarch, and determined to attack Nineveh. Rushing down from their mountains, they were annihilated by the Assyrian veterans. Under Cyaxares, who came to the throne after this disaster, they were gradually trained to defeat their oppressors, and Nineveh was besieged. An irruption of Scythians saved Assyria for a time, but half a generation later Nineveh was again besieged.

THE FALL OF NINEVEH, CIRCA 607 B.C.—The fall of Nineveh was dramatic. Its monarch defended it till further resistance was impossible, and then, seeing that

there was no hope, caused a great pyre to be erected, and perished with his family amid the flames rather than fall into the hands of his foes. Thus fell Nineveh, and so utter was its ruin that the Assyrian name was forgotten and the history of the empire soon melted into fable, in which the names of mythical Sardanapalus and mythical Semiramis vaguely attracted to themselves something of the splendour, might, and prestige of Assyria. How swiftly the waves of oblivion swept over Assur may be judged by the fact that, two centuries later, Xenophon's army passed by the vast deserted cities of Calah and Nineveh, misnamed Larissa and Mesphila by their guides ; and, although they marvelled at them, they never suspected that these were the great cities of Assyria.

MEDIA AND LYDIA.—After the downfall of Assyria Cyaxares annexed what is now known as Asia Minor, until on reaching the River Halys he came into contact with the state of Lydia. The cause assigned by tradition or the actual outbreak of hostilities between these two states is curious. Cyaxares, it is said, maintained a band of Scythians as huntsmen and entrusted some of the young nobles to their charge. One day, upon their returning empty-handed, the king so insulted them that in revenge they killed and cut up one of the young nobles and served him as a dish at a banquet ; they then fled to Alyattes of Lydia, who refused to give them up. Whether there is any truth in this or not, a trial of strength between two such aggressive powers brought face to face was inevitable. The Medes were certainly more numerous than their opponents ; but they were a long way from their base, and they possessed no troops comparable with the Greek hoplites or the famous Lydian cavalry.

THE BATTLE OF THE ECLIPSE, 585 B.C.—For six years the war was waged without decisive advantage to either side. A total eclipse of the sun, foretold, it is said, by Thales of Miletus, interrupted a seventh contest, and made the rank and file of both armies unwilling to meet again.

In the peace negotiations that followed, wherein Babylon played the part of arbitrator, the Halys was fixed on as the boundary between the two empires. A marriage sealed the contract, the Median monarch bestowing his daughter on the heir-apparent of Lydia. Shortly after these momentous events Cyaxares died, to be succeeded by Ishtuvegu, the classical Astyages.

THE RISE OF CYRUS THE GREAT.—The account given by Herodotus of the rise of Cyrus—who, according to the Greek historian, was the son of a daughter of Astyages by a Persian nobleman of no special importance—is well known. Until comparatively recently this account was generally accepted; but the discovery of the famous cylinders of Nabonidus and of Cyrus has changed the whole situation; and I now propose to deal with the question in the light of these important documents. It appears that, just as in the case of Media, a strong man arose and welded the loose congeries of tribes into a nation, although, in the case of the Persians, their remoteness from the civilized powers of the Tigris and Euphrates hindered the process of organization and development.

ACHÆMENES, THE FOUNDER OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.—The founder of the Persian monarchy was Achæmenes, prince of the tribe of Pasargadæ. His capital was the city bearing the same name, ruins of which, dating from the era of Cyrus the Great, still exist. No definite acts can be traced to Achæmenes, after whom the dynasty was named; but the fact that his memory was highly revered tends to prove that he did in truth mould the tribes of rude Persians into a nation before they stepped on to the stage of history. His son Teispes took advantage of the defenceless condition of Elam to occupy the district of Anshan, and assumed the title of "Great King, King of Anshan." Upon his death one of his sons succeeded to Anshan and another to Fars. This started a double line of princes, and explains a reference to it by Darus, which for long puzzled students of the famous Behistun inscriptions.

THE DEFEAT OF ASTYAGES BY CYRUS.—We now come to the historical account, so far as it is known, of the campaign against Astyages. The famous tablet of the Annals of Nabonidus runs: “[His troops] he collected, and against Cyrus, king of Anshan . . . he marched. As for Astyages, his troops revolted against him, and he was seized [and] delivered up to Cyrus. Cyrus [marched] to Ecbatana, the royal city. The silver, gold, goods, and substance of Ecbatana he spoiled, and to the land of Anshan he took the goods and substance that were gotten.” No details are given; but we learn from the Median traditions, as preserved by the classical writers, that there were three battles before the final victory of Cyrus. The date of the capture of Ecbatana is 550 B.C.

CYRUS, KING OF ANSHAN, BECOMES KING OF PERSIA.—One important question on which no light has hitherto been shed is at what period and by what means Cyrus became king of Persia. If we turn to the tablets, we see that he appears in 549 B.C. as “king of Anshan,” and in 546 B.C. he is referred to as “king of Persia.” The inference is that he succeeded to the throne of Persia without serious fighting, of which there is no mention, though the absence of mention does not amount to proof. Possibly upon his capture of Ecbatana he was asked to accept the throne, which was after all in his family.

CRÆSUS OF LYDIA.—The position of Cyrus after taking possession of the throne of Media was by no means assured. Fortunately for him, peace-loving Nabonidus reigned at Babylon, so that he was reasonably safe from active hostility in that quarter. But with respect to Lydia the situation was very different. Alyattes, who had ratified the treaty of alliance, strengthened by marriage with Cyaxares, had been succeeded by Cræsus, whose name is proverbial among Western nations for a man of fabulous wealth, just as Moslems talk of Karun or Korah. This monarch in less than ten years had made good the position of Lydia up to the left bank of the Halys, these conquests

being completed just at the time when Astyages was being attacked by Cyrus.

The overthrow of Media must have deeply affected Cræsus, who, instead of having an ally as his neighbour, had now to face an entirely altered state of affairs. In these circumstances, inasmuch as he possessed a fine, war-hardened army, with superb cavalry which he could strengthen with large numbers of Greek mercenaries, and might reasonably rely on the support of Babylonia and of Egypt, it was probably a sound decision to invade Cappadocia and fight the Persians before they had consolidated their power. The alternative would have been to allow them to develop their strength and attack at their own convenience.

Cyrus determined to forestall Cræsus, and to attack before the arrival of his allies. The daring decision to quit Media and Persia for a long period, to march one thousand miles mainly across lands which were either outlying provinces of Babylonia or independent, and then to surprise a powerful military state, marks out Cyrus as indeed worthy of the title "Great."

THE PERSO-LYDIAN CAMPAIGN.—The result justified his calculations. Upon entering Cappadocia, he found Cræsus unsupported by his allies, and negotiations were opened, Cyrus offering the Lydian monarch his life and kingdom on condition that he swore to become his loyal vassal. These terms were naturally refused, and the first battle proved to be a victory for the Lydians. A truce of three months was negotiated, and then, upon the resumption of hostilities, the Lydians were apparently overpowered at Pteria by the superior numbers of Cyrus. Cræsus retired under cover of night towards Sardes, laying waste the country to impede the march of the Persians, and hoping that Cyrus would not dare to lengthen still further his line of communications, with hostile Babylon in his rear and winter coming on. But Nabonidus deserted his ally, and accepted terms of peace as soon as they were offered,

without perhaps realizing that his own independence was just as much at stake as that of Lydia. Cyrus, freed from anxiety as to his rear, again showed his genius by making a rapid march on Sardes. This unexpected advance utterly surprised Cræsus, who, feeling sure that the winter would completely stop all operations, had with supreme folly disbanded part of his own forces and arranged for his allies to defer their arrival until the spring. However, nothing daunted, he prepared to face the invader with his cavalry on the open plain of the Hermus. But Cyrus employed the now world-renowned ruse of covering the front of his army with camels, the smell of which terrified the horses of the enemy and made them unmanageable. The gallant Lydians dismounted and fought to the death on foot; but the Persians outnumbered them, and their shattered remnant was forced to retreat to Sardes.

THE CAPTURE OF SARDES, 546 B.C.—In his impregnable capital Cræsus, aided by winter, might have defied the Persians until his allies assembled; but again fortune declared against him. The story in Herodotus is well known. When the city had been blockaded for fourteen days, Cyrus offered a rich reward to the first man who should enter it. A Mardian soldier saw a member of the garrison descend what looked from a distance like an inaccessible cliff, pick up his lost helmet and return. He noted the track, and with a few comrades surprised the garrison, trusting to the strength of their position, and opened the gates to the Persian army. Thus fell Sardes, and the campaign may fairly claim to be of signal importance; for had Cræsus won, as he should have done but for his own folly, the course of the world's history would have been profoundly modified. His defeat removed the only strong organized state which could fight on equal terms for the mastery of Anterior Asia, and it gave to Cyrus the Great an empire far exceeding in extent any of its predecessors.

THE FATE OF CRÆSUS.—Like his fellow-monarch at

Nineveh half a century before, Cræsus, it would seem, disdaining to fall into the hands of his enemy, erected a funeral pyre in his palace and mounted it with his family and choicest possessions. Greek legend, as preserved by Herodotus, represents that the pyre was indeed built and set alight, but by the orders of Cyrus. The Lydian monarch, we are told, sighed and repeated the name of Solon thrice, in recollection of the warning he had received from the sage that no man should be called happy until his death. Cyrus, moved to pity, ordered the pyre to be extinguished; but in vain, until Apollo came to the rescue of his worshipper, and saved him by a heavy fall of rain. Perhaps what actually occurred was that Cræsus mounted the pyre of his own free will and was taken from it by the Persians in time to save his life. The legend that he ended his days as a great noble at the Court of Persia strengthens this view.

THE SURRENDER OF BABYLON, 538 B.C.—Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, was a tool of the priesthood. His ruling passion was the discovery of the cylinders of the ancient sanctuaries, and their restoration at the cost of much levying of taxes. Such a man would tend to become a mere cypher, and it appears that the real power lay in the hands of his son, Belshazzar. The Babylonians seem to have been weary of the prevailing discord. We know that the Jews were excited by their prophets to expect the downfall of Babylon, the oppressor, and we can imagine that this feeling was shared by thousands of exiles from other lands. Moreover, Nabonidus alienated a large section of the priests by bringing into Babylon the gods of Ur, Uruk, and Eridu. This is clearly shown in the so-called "cylinder of Cyrus." In this, his proclamation to the people of Babylon, he represents himself as the servant of Merodach, chosen to repair the evil deeds wrought by Nabonidus.

To quote a few lines: "In wrath because he [*i.e.*, Nabonidus] brought them [*i.e.*, the gods of Ur, etc.] to

[Babylon], Merodach ——— showed compassion upon all the lands together. . . . Yea, he sought out an upright Prince, after his own heart, whom he took by the hand, Cyrus, king of the city of ANSHAN; He named his name; to the kingdom of the whole world He called him by name."* Had Cyrus been opposed by a united people ready to rally to the support of their monarch, it seems improbable that the Persians could have taken Babylon, with its triple lines of fortification and its immense resources, without a long siege, but, as it happened, everything played into the hands of the invaders.

Cyrus forced his way into the protected area. He himself then moved north to attack the Babylonian army, which, through supreme incompetency or treachery, was cut off from Babylon. This force he defeated with ease. Meanwhile Gobryas marched south, and, driving Nabonidus from Sippar, entered Babylon "without skirmish or battle." The king, as might have been expected, tamely surrendered. In pursuance of the strict orders of Cyrus, the temples were protected and no pillaging was allowed, and when the Great Conqueror finally arrived in person, he was welcomed as a deliverer. As the cylinder runs: "When I had entered [Babylon] peacefully, with rejoicings and festal shouts in the king's palace, I occupied the seat of sovereignty." Belshazzar, who had not surrendered, was surprised and slain by Gobryas. Seldom has a great prize been more easily won than when Babylon, the holy city whose gods and laws were the oldest and most highly respected throughout the known world, surrendered without a fight to the power of the conquering Persians.

THE TRADITIONAL ACCOUNT. — There is no part of Persian history which has suffered such remarkable vicissitudes as the fall of Babylon. Until the discovery of the

* The almost identical language used in Isaiah is of surpassing interest for its parallelism to this quotation. It runs: "Thus saith the Lord to His anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden . . . I have even called thee by thy name."

tablets, the dramatic account given by Herodotus and supplemented by the Book of Daniel, how Cyrus diverted the waters of the Euphrates, and marched along the dry bed, in which the gates had been left open upon the occasion of a feast, was fully accepted. A massacre ensued, the drunken Babylonian monarch, paralyzed by the writing on the wall, was slain, and the city was given over to fire and the sword.

THE DEATH OF CYRUS.—The last campaigns of Cyrus and his death are wrapped in mystery. It appears probable that he was called upon to beat back one of those invasions from the East which have constituted the chief factor in the history of Central Asia. In this campaign he was killed. Tradition, of course, has woven many legends. The best known is that of Herodotus, who narrates that he demanded the hand of Tomyris, queen of Massagetæ, in marriage, but was refused in disdain. Thereupon he invaded her country, defeated her advance-guard, and captured her eldest son and heir, who immediately killed himself. In the great battle which ensued, and which was fiercely contested, Cyrus was defeated and slain. The queen, to avenge the death of her son, dipped the hero's head in gore, exclaiming: "I give thee thy fill of blood."* This legend is, to some extent, discounted by the fact that the great king's body was brought back to Pasargadæ, where it was interred in a tomb which has, fortunately, escaped the ravages of time.

HIS CHARACTER.—Cyrus, who, from being king of a petty state, rose to be the lord of the mightiest empire the world had up to that time seen, is one of the most attractive figures in history. As a general he excites our wonder by his victories, Lydia and Babylon each falling within a few months after the campaign had opened. His conquest of Cræsus was, perhaps, his most magnificent achievement; and he owed it to the lightning initiative by which, in the first stage, he surprised the Lydian monarch with half his

* "Five Monarchies," iii. 513 ff.

troops absent, and in the second again surprised his enemy and captured Sardes. His manly beauty, his soldier-like qualities of bravery and activity, were apparently conspicuous throughout his life, and he never lost his virility through luxury and self-indulgence, as so many great men have done. As an administrator Cyrus was not conspicuous. But his sagacity was great, and he displayed a moderation and kindliness which made his yoke incomparably lighter than that of previous conquerors. (As a man Cyrus was admirable. He married Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes, an Achæmenian, and when she died he lamented her deeply.) His humanity was equalled by his freedom from pride, which induced him to meet people on a level, instead of affecting the remoteness and aloofness which characterized the great monarchs who preceded and followed him. His sense of humour was shown in his reply to the Ionian Greeks, who, after refusing his overtures to join him in his attack on Croesus, came, after the fall of Sardes, to proffer their submission. To them Cyrus replied: "A fisherman wished the fish to dance, so he played on his flute; but the fish kept still. Then he took his net and drew them to the shore, whereupon they all began to leap and dance. But the fisherman said: 'A truce to your dancing now, since you would not dance when I wished it.'"

The evidence of Holy Writ, of the classical writers, and of the Persians themselves, all tends to show that Cyrus was indeed worthy of the title "Great." His countrymen loved him, and termed him "father"; and we, too, may feel proud that the first great Aryan whose character is well known in history should have displayed such splendid qualities.

THE JAPANESE SOLDIER

BY C. M. SALWEY

THE nations that constitute the Allied Forces, fighting with us in the World's Great War against Prussian Militarism, are extremely varied both in characteristics and temperament.

During the course of events in the East representing the Japanese history of the last fifty years, the eyes of careful inquirers have at last been opened to the possibilities of this long-secluded race.

By reason of the isolation in the past, which was well guarded and nominally complete, we were only in possession of a meagre supply of information concerning the most momentous epoch of a nation's history—namely, when it was cast entirely on its own resources, and was forced to become a light unto itself.

Summing up the traditional as well as the true annals that were chronicled prior to the Restoration A.D. 1868, we gather that the Japanese were always a combative race, and somewhat barbarous in their methods of warfare, as most other nations have been in their initial stage.

In the early centuries the Japanese were chiefly engaged in defensive warfare. They were continually employed in driving the northern invaders back to the snowy regions of Hokkaidō. This the present occupiers of Japan proper accomplished with such success that at the present time the inertia that grew out of continual defeat has proved the

downfall of the hairy Ainu. Their numbers have dwindled considerably, and this extreme northern island has again become governed and organized by the enterprising, energetic Japanese emigrants from the motherland.

Later on battles by sea were undertaken in the south with frail, unsuitable craft, the only form of ships that were at that time available. But by the intervention of the elements and "Divine storms" invaders were kept at bay, and no alien foot desecrated the sacred "Land of the Gods."

The next military phase of any importance was the internal struggle for supremacy and rulership in conjunction (to all outward seeming) with the Sovereign of Divine Descent. The Gempei wars were waged for upwards of 200 years. Peace and order were not restored until a Shogun greater and wiser than any organizer who had gone before settled disputes with a high hand. Iyeyasu, the first Shogun, banished the interfering foreigner, and shut the gates of Japan against any possible trouble from without.

The protracted struggle was deadly enough while it lasted. Close hand-to-hand fighting was more or less the order of the day. History repeats itself: there were brave men and cowards, desperate men and men of humanitarian principles, all engaged on either side. Castles and villages alike shared the same fate as many a quiet village is sharing to-day in this European conflict. The sword, pestilence and famine, fire and rapine, played each their deadly part in those restless days of long ago.

The use of firearms was unknown until about 1545, when the fowling-piece was introduced by the Portuguese. This weapon, being far superior to any other accepted by the Japanese at that time, was eagerly adopted. In less than ten years after its importation, all who could secure such a valuable addition to their arms did so without delay.

In the ninth and successive centuries bows and arrows were used, as well as deadly little sharp knives that antagonists threw at one another when at close quarters.

The arrowheads of iron were pierced, in order that when they sped through the air a shrill piercing note might attest their flight. This particular form was known as the whistling arrow. Their cruel sharp heads were capable of inflicting ugly wounds, for the bowmen were practised marksmen, as the pictorial and chronicled history of Japan can testify.

A long, unwieldy spear was another weapon called into requisition, but, owing to the space required to swing it into play, it was at first only placed at the disposal of officers. It was not until the end of the fifteenth century that the men in the first line of battle were equipped with this offensive weapon.

In old Japanese prints of the sea-battle of Dan-no-ura and other naval engagements, it is seen that those who manned vessels were, like the military classes, provided with metal and lacquered armour (chain or plated) from crown to toe. In this clumsy accoutrement the fighter had to do his best, though it was not an easy matter under such conditions. The armour was padded, and sometimes lacquered within. Every portion of the body and the limbs was covered. Metal and papier-maché visors and masks were also worn. In order to inspire fear and trepidation by hideousness, these were provided with heavy black moustaches and beetling eyebrows. Horns decorated the many patterns of helmets. A great quantity of silken braid was utilized in the shaping of the armour, in order to induce a better fitting, as well as to be a means of securing the barbed arrows that became entangled therein. By this means the deadly missiles could be employed for retaliation at the right moment. The chief provision against close warfare consisted of a small iron, circular, fan-shaped shield of two patterns, known as the "gumbai uchiwa" and the "ogi." It was found futile to adopt wooden shields. These fan-shaped protectors, especially of the folding type, were found useful for other purposes on the battle-field.*

* See "Fans of Japan," by C. M. Salwey. Kegan Paul.

Concerning the mighty swords, we cannot too highly praise the workmanship and the artistic labour bestowed upon them during the Middle Ages. They became so indispensable and revered that a samurai (or fighting man) would sooner part with his life than with his sword. The military class known as the samurai, who were the retainers of the Damno, or feudal lords, were held in high esteem. Their calling was hereditary. This secured them many privileges never granted to commoners. These privileges gained high honour to their families under certain conditions; they were consequently of vital importance to obtain and secure. When once granted they could never be withdrawn. These Damno, from whom the Shogun was appointed, were powerful in the land. The coveted honour of becoming the great subjugating lord caused many deadly feuds, not only before peace and order was comparatively established, but long after Iyeyasu and his family successors held military sway. Many experiments were tried before the best methods were arrived at of putting an end to civil and internal warfare. It was during the time of isolation that the arts and industries flourished. The ancestors of the fighting men of to-day were men of high culture and disposition credited with possessing all those fine instincts of true gentlemen, well-disciplined soldiers, loyal subjects, noble patriots, and desperate enemies.

The code of Bushidō has been eulogized so many times of late it is quite superfluous to sing its praises on every occasion. A recent Japanese writer has thrown quite a new light on this form of military training, not at all conformable with the accepted belief.* Whether it were the injunctions contained in this traditional rescript of military knights' ways, or the wonderful power that Shintoism wrought over the followers of this ancient cult of ancestor-worship, there was an indomitable influence that swayed

* See "The Fall of Sei-tō and its Aftermath," by S. Ishii, *Asiatic Review*, No. 13, vol. vi.

the heart of the samurai, which has left within the records of Japan's past history many touching and beautiful episodes. Stony-hearted veterans succumbed before the plight of young and daring soldier lads in the enemy's ranks, which resulted in fierce conflicts being fought out with their own consciences, as fierce as those fought out on battle-fields with force of arms. Some of these fierce old ruthless warriors are said to have ended their days in the seclusion of the monastery.

The younger sons of a family were trained at an early age to regard warfare as the most honourable occupation in life. Stirring stories were read to them by the light of the paper andon (or lantern) in order to inspire courageous longing and passionate yearning for service later in life. They underwent severe discipline. After a battle the younger sons were sent to the battle-fields in order to obtain the head of some loved relative who had been slain, and to bring it home in the white paper or cloth shroud, always provided for this purpose, with the kagai, or hair-pin, with which a sword was usually furnished, to identify the name of the enemy who had despatched the illustrious dead.

The love of women did not occupy a foremost place in the mind of the Japanese soldier when the call to arms had been given. In some of the classical literature we read what slight consideration women received in times of national danger. A wife never dared to exhibit any sorrow at her husband's sudden departure from his home, where he ruled supreme and where his word was as the law of the Medes and Persians that altered not. It was her duty to assist his preparations; any show of feeling was attended with terrible results. It has been said that in mediæval days barbarous deeds were known to have been perpetrated by jealous husbands depriving their wives and children of life rather than leaving them to become a prey to enemies of their clan. But in most cases of emergency the women were as brave as the men,

and in their ideals of Eastern loyalty and devotion to their husbands have by their own act sacrificed themselves in order to leave the warriors' minds free from any possible distractions of home. "Go, fight for your Emperor; you are no longer mine. Do not return; die for the glory of Japan!"* Such words as these formed the dismissal and farewell of many a young and beautiful bride to her liege lord in days of old. There was nothing equivalent to our church door adieus, or hurried wedding ceremonies. The pictures of happy women in bridal attire, so often seen of late in our illustrated papers, proudly leaning on the arm of khaki-clad husbands, must both amuse and still astonish our Oriental Allies.

The last fifty years, which have wrought changes in every department of Japanese life, has altered entirely their methods of warfare. This applies especially to the training of men for military service. Many reforms were tried, discarded, enlarged upon, and modelled after European patterns; for it was quite evident that all past traditions must be superseded by more thorough and expensive systems if there was to be any chance for Japan to compete with the civilized Powers. The change had to be both rapid and complete, for the enemies of their once splendid isolation were already sighting her shores, and knocking at her gates for admission, friendly or combative. For this reason the army was the first consideration for the protection of the Sacred Land. It was not, however, easy to supply the pressing need. Class distinction had been the ruling order for so many centuries. The line of demarcation between soldier and civilian, tradesman and agriculturist, had hitherto been observed. Conditions were difficult to readjust satisfactorily, especially as there were willing and able men who had not served under any individual feudal Prince ready to come forward to have

* "The Land of the Yellow Spring," by F. Hadland Davis. Herbert and Daniel, London.

their courage and military spirit put to the test. The disturbed state of the country, the factions for and against reform, expansion, retention of the old régime, and other disputes concerning the dual form of government and its impending abolition, and endless other subjects of grave importance, were for the time being hindrances in the great wave of enthusiasm that was bound to develop in the near future.

Besides the measures to be adopted for the increase of the army, it was imperative entirely to remodel it and bring armaments and arms up to the latest foreign type, that uniform of cloth must entirely supersede all patterns of armour, and that modern firearms must take the place of any defensive weapons hitherto supplied. Seaboards of importance had to be fortified, since not only the army, but the navy, was totally unable to cope with any sudden disaster. The Japanese were not slow-sighted; the rattle of musketry and the roar of the cannon both at Kagoshima and Shimonoseki, together with the appearance of larger types of alien vessels in the Pacific, aroused their ardour. The spirit of patriotism predominated, and eventually quelled dispute and division. Quarrels occasionally ruffled the calm tide of progress and expansion, and clans disagreed, rebelled, surrendered, and shifted their political policies, to suit the emergencies of the moment.

From 1870 and onward the matter of military readjustment on a sounder basis began to work. Schools sprang up in different centres of the Empire where all necessary instruction could be obtained, and every facility offered to those students who earnestly desired to be trained for service.

Since the Restoration the Japanese armies have distinguished themselves in three consecutive campaigns in which they took the initiative. During these conflicts the soldiers and sailors of the Mikado, both commanders and men, showed what splendid acumen they possessed, but space will not allow of any comment on their deeds of bravery.

invisible concourse ever present around and above must be watched and imitated and remembered with reverence ; for to leave unheeded any act of soldierly discipline would not only be displeasing, but cause suffering, to those spirit warriors who take their shadowy part in the hour of need.

Those who depreciate our Oriental Allies do so chiefly from ignorance or indifference. They have not made the ethical condition of this people a serious study. Many tourists give their opinion merely because they have "done Japan" by reviewing Treaty ports, scrambling up the Sacred Mountain, or prying into the deep-shaded temple courts, and accomplishing other extraordinary feats which only produce a bad impression on the natives concerning foreigners.

Of late years, through the power of the pen, able Japanese linguists, who have successfully mastered European languages, have widened our knowledge, and have given us thereby an insight into the inner shrine of the Japanese mind. By no means the least of our enlightenment has been experienced in reading the beautiful poems composed by H.I.M. the late Emperor Meiji Tennō, whose memory must be ever with us in this present crisis. This Eastern monarch was a lover of peace. He considered his people on every occasion. This was made patent by the great personal sacrifices he observed. When wars reduced the numbers of his loyal subjects, he withdrew himself more than ever from public life, in order to grieve and ponder over the sufferings to which they were exposed. To give an example: it is stated that on one occasion, during a terrible conflict, His Imperial Majesty could not be persuaded to seek shelter during a great storm, and gently chided those who prayed him to protect himself against the inclement weather, preferring to share discomforts with his brave men rather than rest at ease during such a crisis.

It is to be hoped that nothing will shatter the good-will that exists between our respective nations, signed and

sealed in the glorious Meiji era of enlightenment. It has been stated lately that overtures of other Powers had been made to Japan for a mutual alliance. This is quite possible to believe. Many may wish to sever this significant bond of fellowship between the Far East and West. Furthermore, it is recounted that a great statesman once pointed out the respective positions of our Empires on the map of the world, comparing them to the two eyes of one face, ever watchful and vigilant, explaining what great things could be accomplished could those two orbs see alike. There is no doubt that ever-widening history would be greatly influenced thereby.

THE LAND WHERE EAST MEETS WEST
FROM THE AUSTRO-ITALIAN BORDER TO DALMATIA
AND BOSNIA

BY MAUDE M. HOLBACH

Author of "Dalmatia," "In the Footsteps of Richard Cœur de Lion," etc.

THE Trentino, fair land of South Tyrol, where the charm of Italy mingles with that of the north. Fair land of ancient castles perched upon precipitous crags; of soaring mountain peaks and alpine meadows, where the gentians star the ground with their incomparable azure; as also of olive and cypresses, of vineyard and lemon groves by the shores of Garda. No matter how much we sympathize with the desire of the Italian population of Trentino to belong to Italy—of all people, indeed, parted from their natural heritage and ruled by an alien race—we who love Trentino, who have spent summer days amid its mountains, golden autumn ones in old-world Bozen and beautiful Riva in the time of vintage, or basked in winter sunshine in the sheltered mountain valley which cradles the town of Meran, cannot but sigh for the pity of it that war, which has already devastated so much of Europe, should lay waste this idyllic pastoral land, which is enshrined in our heart of hearts as the scene of happy holidays spent in a wonderland of Nature.

Just a year ago I watched the manœuvres of the Austrian mountain brigades on the Italian border near to Innichen;



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to be exact, it was at Fischleinboden, a little mountain valley of exquisite beauty closed by the glorious Dolomite group of the Drei Zinnen peaks, so well known to all who have explored the district round Cortina. I talked to the officers and men who took part, and I remember vividly that they told me not a few of the soldiers suffer throughout their entire after-life from heart trouble as the result of the great strain entailed in this special work.

Militarism claims its victims in time of (armed) peace as well as war. Little did we think then how soon this "practice" was to be put to the test of stern reality. We rested that day at the little inn at Bad Moos on our way back to Sexten. From here the road ascends over Monte Croce, lately the scene of more than one fierce fight between the mountain brigades of Italy and Austria, when the latter tried to break through the Italian lines. The men on both sides were skilled mountaineers, and the battle was won by personal bravery, not by any death-dealing device of modern scientific slaughter. In this district, though so near to the Italian border, the inhabitants are almost all of pure Germanic stock, in contrast to the neighbourhood of Cortina (which is so well known to English people it seems unnecessary to describe it here) and the country between Ala and Trient and the Val Sugana, and which is pure Italian.

Ala, one of the first places to be taken by our Allies, is familiar to travellers from Italy to Tyrol as the frontier station where luggage is examined. Few people stay there; but the little town is not without charm, and has a picturesque castle.

Trent, Triente, or Trento, won my heart the moment I beheld it many years ago on my first visit to Austria. Under its English name of Trent (why cannot all cities and countries keep their own name for all the world?) it had in those days a special interest to me as the scene of the famous Church Council of the sixteenth century. In the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, then comparatively a

new building, is a picture of that historic gathering, with portraits of the seven Cardinals, three Patriarchs, thirty-three Archbishops, and Bishops galore who attended. Also that so much Christian learning should have produced no better result than Christendom to-day. But the history of Trent goes back far beyond the sixteenth century. It claims to have been founded by the Etruscans, and its Italian sympathies are very natural, seeing that its Roman era is mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy. To wander through its beautiful old streets, with their wealth of marble palaces, picturesque towers, and quaint arcades, is a joy alike to artist and antiquarian; for Trent was once the seat of a Prince Bishopric as well as the wealthiest town in Tyrol, hence the many fine buildings it possesses.

From Trent to Trieste is not a very far cry. The old capital of the Prince Bishops and the port on the Adriatic have this in common, that the greater part of the population are of the later stock and speak the Italian language, on the strength of which Italy claims they should belong to her. While quite agreeing that no people should be compelled against their will to be ruled by an alien race, I must remark that it would be necessary in readjusting the people of Europe on this plan to decide how far to go back. In the case of Trieste it would be necessary to go a long way, as it has been Austrian since the fourteenth century. Out of the 229,475 inhabitants of Trieste, about 170,000 are of the Italian race, 43,000 Slavene, and 11,000 German.

There are few more beautiful seaports in the world than this white city by the Adriatic, which rises terrace-like from the sea, climbing the lowest slopes of the Karst mountains. The palatial building of the Austrian Lloyd Steamship Company ("The Cunard" of Austria) is one of the first objects on the water-front to catch the eye of a stranger arriving by boat. About four miles distant along the shore the Castle of Miramar is visible from afar, recalling tragic memories of the ill-fated Hapsburg Prince who left this beautiful home to die by an assassin's knife in Mexico. The new harbour

constructed about forty years ago has an immense break-water, and between the new and old harbour is the picturesque Grand Canal which looks quite Venetian.

Abbazia—I christened it on my first visit “Vienna by the Sea”—has its gay crowds of well-dressed women and smart officers, its luxurious hotels and crowded cafés. Pola was no bad second, and had the added interest of being a naval station besides the unique interest of the Roman remains. Its amphitheatre of the third century is capable of seating 20,000 people, but the seats are no longer there! The Venetians found them useful in the building of their palaces. The Temple of Augustus is, however, considerably older than the amphitheatre, having been erected 19 B.C., when this city was an important naval port under the Romans, just as it is to-day under the Austrians.

Pola is at the extreme south of the Peninsula of Istria, a beautiful land with a coast-line with picturesque little towns and villages generally clustering round some fine old church. Pirano and Rovigno, two of its most important harbours, have been mentioned in the dispatches as the scenes of naval conflicts within the last few weeks. How strangely is history repeating itself to-day! The little island of Lissa, which nobody ever heard of who has not been to Dalmatia, was the British naval base in the Napoleonic wars—and our Allies, the Italians, landed there the other day! Yes; tiny Lissa was once the “Malta” of the Adriatic, and the only place in Dalmatia before the war to possess the proud distinction of having a British Consulate. This recalls a rather humorous incident on our first visit to Dalmatia. When my husband and I landed at Lissa, an Austrian official came on board, and, addressing us in German, said the British Consul had come to meet us—*but he did not speak English*. The Consul was a Dalmatian gentleman, whose native tongue was Slav, but he spoke also Italian and German. From him we learnt that our Government allowed £5 a year for the up-keep of the little churchyard in Lissa, where gallant British seamen lie who

fought for King and Country just a hundred years ago ! I visited their graves, and laid upon them some of the rosemary that grows so plentifully on the island. "Rosemary, that's for remembrance," and I copied the inscriptions on a monument within the churchyard erected :

"By the captain and officers of the British Line of Battleship *Victorious*, in memory of eleven brave Englishmen who died of the wounds they received on February 22, 1813, in action with the French ship *Rivoli*, and the many gallant fellows who lost their lives that day."

Outside the churchyard is another inscription to the memory of all the dead that lie there far from their native land :

"Here lie enclosed the remains of British seaman who lost their lives in defence of their King and Country. MDCCCIV."

Bentinck and Wellington are still commemorated in the name of the old English forts, and the little bay beneath them is known as the "English Harbour."

These forts played their part again in the historic sea-fight of 1866, between the same foes who now contend for mastery in these seas—a battle which is commemorated by the monument known as the Lion of Lissa, seen by every ship entering the harbour.

The earlier history of Lissa, like that of many of the Dalmatian isles, dates back before Roman times to a Greek colony which existed there nearly 400 B.C., and later its ships took part in the wars with Carthage. Many, many a time throughout the centuries have the inhabitants fallen a prey to some piratical foe—Roman, Goth, and haughty Spaniard in turn—but always the people who remained or had fled to other islands returned and rebuilt their homes. Lissa is but one of countless isles that stud this island-gir coast, but its inhabitants may be taken as typical of the spirit of the intrepid sea-faring race which inhabits them—a race from which the Venetians of old drew their powerful navies, and which furnished the bodyguard of the Doge. Great jealousy existed before the war between the Italian

speaking Dalmatian and the Croats and Serbs, and both sought to give us their version of things, as they do to every traveller interested in the inner life of the little "kingdom of Dalmatia."

It is inevitable that a country possessing such a long coast-line and innumerable islands should have for its chief industry the harvest of the seas ; as fishing in these waters will be fraught with great difficulty and danger now, and all the fishermen of military age must have been drafted into the navy, a large portion of the population of Dalmatia will necessarily suffer privation. The sardine fisheries, which last from April to October, should now be in full swing. This industry is mostly carried on by night, the fish being attracted to the surface by lamps reflected in the water, which would be obviously almost impossible in time of war. Packing anchovies in barrels for export is another industry of the islands, and here, as on the Quarnero, the tunny fisheries are very profitable. The Dalmatian sponge fisheries are famous, and one village near Sebenico kept eighty to ninety boats employed before the war.

All who know what gems of Venetian Gothic architecture are to be found in the churches and monasteries of Dalmatia must devoutly hope that the islands of Curzola and Lesina, as well as Traù and Ragusa on the mainland, may be spared bombardment. Curzola is essentially Venetian, and medieval walls and towers still surround the town, which has also a beautiful thirteenth-century Duomo. In Lesina, too, the Venetian influence is paramount in the old arsenal—an ancient loggia ("unfortunately restored"), and more than one fine old palazzo. The Duomo has a beautiful campanile and the Franciscan monastery possesses many treasures. The garden of the monastery, with a three-hundred-year-old cypress tree of gigantic proportion, is a place to dream in during hot summer days. On account of its wonderfully even climate, Lesina has been called the Austrian "Madeira," and an enterprising company recently built that "rara avis" on the Dalmatian isles—a modern

hotel there, even though it be a very small and unpretentious one.

The traveller in Dalmatia, like the traveller in the East—is it not the fringe of the East?—must be prepared for some discomfort if he leaves the beaten path of the express steamer from Trent to Ragusa, which boasts the one first class hotel in all the land. While appreciating its comfort I always felt profoundly thankful it stood *without* the walls of that unique medieval city and not within, wherein it would be so sadly out of place. Even as it is I always felt a desire to apologize for its presence in immediate proximity to a medieval town!

At Ragusa the beauty and interest of Dalmatia culminates—both the antiquarian and the artist can feast their eyes. It is, indeed, “a dream city by the sea”—akin to the walled Etruscan towns of Northern Italy; but with its frowning walls and battlements washed, on all sides but one, by the blue waters of the Adriatic. “People it with figures more than half Oriental, with knives stuck in their belts and cloaks rivalling in colour the crimson of the oleander blossom, and you have Ragusa—the proud little Republic of yore, which never yielded even to the might of Venice in the zenith of her power—the half Eastern, half Western, yet unspoilt Ragusa of to-day.”

Throughout the Middle Ages this tiny Republic was an island of Christianity in a sea of Moslemism. Its citizens were both brave soldiers and clever diplomatists. They made many firm friends by giving the shelter of these strong walls to neighbouring rulers in time of need, so that their chivalry was a byword even among the Turks. As traders they were unequalled, being far-sighted enough to make a commercial treaty with the Orient long before the rest of Europe recognized the growing power of the Servant trade; but it is their proudest boast that they abolished the slave trade in the fifteenth century (which we allowed to disgrace humanity for another four hundred years). Yet the Ragusans loved fighting by land or sea, and as they

lent the protection of their walled city to fugitives so they readily sent ships to help their friends, and tradition says Ragusan ships sailed with the Spanish Armada! Though the independence of Ragusa so nobly maintained for centuries was wiped out with a stroke of Napoleon's pen, the old patrician families still remain, and will tell you to-day that they never were French, though the usurper's flag flew from their citadel, and they are to-day Ragusans not Austrians! There is a little churchyard at Ragusa where only patricians sleep their last, and still their sons are laid to rest there if room can be found in that small God's-acre!

I have said that Dalmatia is the fringe of the East, and Ragusa more than half Oriental. The Eastern absence of haste is noticeable in its streets; there is little or no wheeled traffic—its citizens move with stately dignity as if time were of no account. The colour of their dress is also Oriental; every Dalmatian wears a cap or turban of scarlet; and the full, baggy blue trousers and embroidered vests worn by the men, all suggest the Turkish influence. But the unpleasant features of the Orient are conspicuous by their absence. In place of dirty streets strewn with garbage is neatness and order. It is, indeed, one of the cleanest-looking towns I ever saw, with its delicately-coloured stone buildings and wide Stradone, or main street, at once the High and Corso of Ragusa, and the most modern part of the town, for it was rebuilt in 1667, after the great earthquake, in which 4,000 people perished, but which spared the main walls and most of the Rector's Palace, though the Duomo was destroyed.

The Rector of Ragusa was the head of the Republic, just as was the Doge that of Venice, and the Rector's Palace is a poem in stone. Much of the work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries still remains, including the famous Dogano capitals on the Loggia. The Dogana, with its charming loggias and Venetian Gothic windows, is another notable building. It was once the mint (for the

Ragusans had their own currency) ; also, later, the centre of literary and social life, where the scholars and poets met who have helped to keep alive the Slav literature, and no doubt contributed there to keep alive the spirit of Serbian independence.

Those of the Serbian people who are not scholars have taken their inspiration from the songs of the Guzla player, the wandering minstrel of the Slavs, whose weird, sad music (if such it can be called) is heard all over Dalmatia, as well as Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro. The Guzla player it is who has kept alive the memories of the great battle of Kossovo, which Serbian independence had lost—the Guzla player, no doubt, has woven into his songs many a brave deed done in the last Balkan War, as well as in the perpetual border fights with the Turks, which lasted almost within living memory. He is welcomed by noble and peasant at village inn and every merry-making, and not a few Guzla players have contributed in America to keep the Serb's passionate patriotism aflame even in the New World, which has other and wider ideals than nationalism.

From Ragusa to what was Turkish territory up to the time of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, is only a matter of a few hours' carriage drive to Trebinje along a lovely coast road. It will be recalled that, though nominally Turkish, Bosnia and Herzegovina were garrisoned by Austrian troops.

But Trebinje is only a little side excursion. The correct way to enter Herzegovina is by train, which takes six hours from Gravosa—the port of Ragusa to Mostar. Of that anon !

First, if you would have a bird's-eye view of the naval battle-grounds in the Adriatic you must turn your attention to the land-locked waters of the Bay of Cattaro, which have in a small way proved almost as difficult a problem as the Dardanelles, so narrow is the entrance that leads through a long ford to the Austrian port of Cattaro, at the foot of the

Black Mountains of Montenegro. A branch of the small railway that goes to Mostar runs to Castelnuovo on the bay, and in times of peace steamers run daily from Ragusa to Cattaro in a few hours.

The shore of the bay, or, as the Dalmatians call it, Boccha di Cattaro, are more smiling than any other part of this coast, which is generally rather bare and rocky. Here are green woods suggestive of a northern land, but the nearer you approach to Cattaro (the bay is twelve miles long) the sterner and wilder grows the scenery, till you see almost impregnable walls of rock rising behind the town. Nearer approach, however, shows a zigzag line of white winding up the mountains to Cetinje, the quaint little capital of Montenegro. Even in times of peace Cattaro bristled with troops. The Austrian garrison on the Montenegrin frontier always slept with one eye open, rightly or wrongly fearing Serbian intrigue, while the Montenegrins on their part were just as mistrustful of their Austrian neighbours. It was the typical Balkan attitude of being ready to shoot on the least provocation which also has been so infectious that all Europe caught the malady, and civilization threatens to die of it! Yet Cattaro was a very pleasant place if you took life on the surface—the little cafés by the water's edge were always full of officers—and they were very good company, being mostly simple individuals, much less full of their own importance than the German officer. Their wives and daughters brought Vienna fashions to this far-off station, and English and American yachts often enlivened the harbour as well as now and then an Austrian battleship. The Montenegrins came daily to the market—tall, stalwart mountaineers, looking every one of them a prince, but most unchivalrously permitting their patient, plodding wives to carry the heavy burdens of market produce. Now, those who were neighbours, and bought and sold in the Cattaro market, are enemies, each seeking the other's life, and the inhabitants of Cattaro are between the guns of the Montenegrins on

the heights and the Italian fleet, which, as yet unable to force the straits, are firing across the narrow neck of land from the open sea.

To the south of the Bay of Cattaro stretches, for about 300 miles, the coast line of Albania, that turbulent land which refused to be made into a buffer state ruled by a German prince at the will of the great Powers. Albania includes ancient Epirus and part of the ancient Macedonia and Illyria; about half of its 200,000 inhabitants are Mohammedan. This does not mean that they are of another race than their Christian neighbours; on the contrary, many Greeks became converts to Islam at the height of its power for political purposes, and to avoid the humiliations and indignities heaped upon the Christians in Moslem lands during the Middle Ages. As late as 1760, it is said, thirty-six villages in the valley of Aous adopted the religion of Mohammed. *It is not uncommon in Albania to find Mohammedan and Christians in the same family.*

Serbia has long desired "a little window on the Adriatic," and looked with longing eyes at the Albanian harbour of Durazzo; this was once an important port, but its harbour is now choked by sand. The quay, with its rows of cannon and long bridge spanning the marshy ground, and the ruins of a Byzantine citadel, testify to its former importance. Durazzo has a population of about 9,000, and a much larger than Dulcigno, the other port of Albania.

Of what is happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina we know very little, the attention of our Press being concentrated on the gigantic operations nearer home; but we do know that fighting goes on intermittently all along the Serbian and Montenegrin frontiers, and can never forget that at Sarajevo was enacted the first scene in the European tragedy on June 29 last year—the murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his devoted wife.

There are two Sarajevos—the old and the new—the Eastern and the Western cities, but they merge into one;

there is no boundary line between them. The modern Sarajevo has fine Government buildings, and a beautiful cathedral, well lit streets, and modern sanitation. In old Oriental Sarajevo the only Christian church was a low building hidden out of sight behind a high wall. As late as the seventies the city had no communication with Europe but a weekly post-cart : it was a lawless place where Christians were only permitted on suffrance. Even now if you visit it during the Mohammedan feast of Bairam, and see the multitude of minarets hung with myriad lamps, you are transported from Europe into a scene of Oriental splendour which recalls the Arabian nights. In the Carsiga, or market-place, its mixed population is seen to advantage on a market day. Then Mohammedans rub shoulder with peasants whose dress denotes that they belong to the Roman Catholic, Greek, or Orthodox Churches, but there is no difference in race between the Turk of Bosnia and the Serb, it is purely a difference of faith. About a third of the population of their countries is Moslem, two-fifths Greek Orthodox and the rest of the population Catholic. The Moslems of the Balkan are among the strictest in the observance of their religion of any in the Turkish Empire. The Moslem women of Mostar are more effectually hidden from profane eyes than any other in the Orient, for they wear an immense black hood extending far over the face, which is further concealed by drapery of flowered muslin, so not a vestige of their features, not even their eyes, can be seen.

The great mosque of Sarajevo is one of the finest in the Mohammedan world, and its courtyard, shaded by an immense sycamore-tree, under whose shade Moslems perform their ablutions, is something to delight an artist. In connection with the mosque are many charities said to support over a thousand people. Sarajevo has also a Government college, or Scheriat, where students read law or study theology. A four years' course here entitles a student to enter the Austrian Government service as a judge. The

National Museum, founded in 1888, has sections in which the evolution of Bosnia is most strikingly illustrated by a collection of old weapons, and more interesting to me, who find the arts of peace better worth study than those of war—one of the curved distaffs used by the women in spinning any of the embroideries for which Bosnia is famous. Even more interesting, perhaps, is the collection of wax figures illustrating the costumes worn by the peasants in the different districts. The head-dresses are sometimes extraordinary—a bride, for instance, has her head adorned not only with coins resting on the forehead, but with peacocks' feathers and a *small hand-mirror*! Anyone who has visited the Government tobacco factory in which hundreds of women are employed, or the carpet factories of Sarajevo, must, in common justice, admit that Austrian rule has done much to foster the native industries. Government aid has even been directed to making Bosnia a tourist country by erecting or subsidizing hotels which offer modern comfort to travellers. The inland watering-place of Fledtz is a case in point. Here, on the site of the Roman baths, is a group of charming summer hotels—the creation of the former Minister, Von Kelley—surrounded by exclusive grounds, and the favourite Sunday resort in summer of excursionists from Sarajevo, who frequent the open-air cafés and listen to the band. It was from Fledtz that the ill-fated heir to the Austrian Throne set out on the fatal day of his death.

Space fails to tell of the extraordinary interest of Bosnia. Of the scenic beauty along the railway from Sarajevo to Urac on the Serbian frontier (this narrow gauge line which is a remarkable piece of engineering, was one of the costliest in Europe to build, piercing, as it does, the heart of the mountains and crossing rushing rivers and terrific gorges by many viaducts), of its wonderful military roads over which we sped in one of the first motors seen in the country, and the royal town of Jajce, once the key to Central Europe, perched on the edge of one of the most magnificent waterfalls in the world.

Herzegovina has less of scenic beauty to offer to the traveller, but hardly less of interest, for the Herzegovinians have preserved more than any other branch of the Serbian family their purity of race. They are as remarkable for beauty of form and feature as for their intrepid spirit ; but East and West and new and old meeting here sometimes present strange anomalies, such as the adoption by the Christian maidens of full Turkish trousers worn below a very modern European blouse ! Such discrepancies make one regret the march of so-called "civilization," and turn with relief to the beauty of native dress of the past, still worn by the majority of maidens and matrons on the streets of Mostar.

The Sunday scenes at the churches are delightfully picturesque, the women being attired in white with long white veils, the men gaily decked out with sleeveless embroidered jackets, showing snowy sheets of home-made linen and a crimson fez or turban, often adorned with a rose or some other sweet-scented flower.

No account of Mostar would be complete without mention of the famous bridge which, with one great span of marvellous grace, crosses the wild Narenta River and joins the two grey forts which guard it. "Kudret Kemeri"—the Arch of Almighty God the Turks call it ; why, I know not, unless it be that they piously conclude so beautiful a structure could only have been created by a builder divinely inspired. From the bridge the town and its many minarets are best seen, and here you may stand and listen in the early morning, at noon or even, to the cry of the muizzin ; but only half the population of Mostar are followers of the Prophet, and side by side in these dark days of war in the same Oriental land Christian and Mohammedan, living in peace, together offer praise and prayer !

Surely it is remarkable that the Moslem subjects of the Emperor of Austria are as faithful to that most Catholic of monarchs as are the Moslems of India to our Protestant King George.

There can be no better proof that the cry of a "Holy War" of the Crescent against the Cross is as absurd as futile! We read the other day of a Jewish Rabbi fetching a crucifix for a dying Catholic soldier! May it not be that in this awful world affliction we are learning as never before to respect each other's faith, and see that there may be other roads than ours to the Mercy Seat of God?

QUATRAINS OF "OMAR KHAYYĀM"

BY JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E.

These verses complete the literal rendering of all the Persian stanzas or Quatrains usually ascribed to Omar Khayyām. This translation is in no sense a paraphrase. The Translator has endeavoured to faithfully follow the original Persian word upon word and line upon line, and he hopes he has succeeded in rendering all that Omar is said to have said. It is for the reader to decide what the Poet meant.—J. P.

128.

ONE can't glad heart with sorrow burn,
Nor on life's Touchstone pleasure turn ;
None knows the secrets yet to be,
Wine, Love and Rest must come to me !

129.

This Vault—our lives to undermine—
Makes war on my pure soul and thine ;—
Sit here upon the grass, my Love ;
Ere grass grows green our graves above !

130.

Our "Come" and "Go" what profit brings?
Where is the woof to Warp of things ?
How many a fine form this world burns
To dust, whereof no smoke returns ?

131.

'Twere better Sciences to spurn—
 And round Love's locks thy fingers turn ;
 And, ere thy blood by Fate be shed,
 Pour bottles' blood in Cup instead.

132.

The Tavern's door I've just scraped through—
 To good and bad I've bid "Adieu" !
 Though both the worlds around me sweep,
 Dead-drunk you'll find me—fast asleep.

133.

From all but Wine t' abstain is best,
 By Beauties served Wine gathers zest ;
 'Tis good to drink, like wandering Friar,
 Draught upon draught, and never tire.

134.

A bowl inverted seems the sky,
 'Neath which wise men like captives lie ;
 In friendship be thou Cup and Jar,
 Lip-joined—they blood-relations are !

135.

The wind the rose's skirt destroys,
 The Bulbul in rose-beauty joys ;
 Sit here beneath the rose, for see !
 How many dashed to dust there be !

136.

'Bout "have" and "have not" why mourn I ?
 Should I not live light-heartedly ?
 Fill up the Wine-cup ! There's no law ;
 I'll breathe again the breath I draw.

137.

For Sin become not Sorrow's thrall !
Nor grieve for those beyond recall ;
Love jasmine-bosomed—fairy-born—
And live not Wineless and forlorn.

138.

Tho' past thy sixtieth year, don't pine,
And fare not forth undazed of Wine !
Ere of thy skull a Jar they make,
Hold fast the Jar—the Wine-cup take !

139.

Better old Wine than kingdom new—
By Wine, the best of paths, get thro' !
Farīdūn's realm the cup outweighs,
Kaikhosru's crown the Jars out-blaze.

140.

O Saki ! those who've gone before
Have fall'n asleep—dust-covered-o'er ;
Go drink ! and hear the Truth from me,
" Mere bluff was all they said—Saki ! "

141.

O Lord—Thou'st broke my jug of Wine ;
And shut on joys all doors of mine ;
The Wine upon the earth thou'st spilt ;
Good Lord, strange seems to me thy guilt !

142.

Great Heaven ! Thou giv'st to people base
Mill-streams—Canals—and Bathing-place ;
The pure man risks his all for bread ;
Wilt thou not grant him Heaven instead ?

143.

O Heart ! Earth's secrets are not solved,
Nor by philosophy evolved ;
With Wine and Cup here blest remain,
For Heaven you may, or may not, gain !

144.

Lo ! this World's kitchen yields but smoke.
How long endure Life's random stroke ?
You seek but certain stock in trade ;
Who'd use the capital where profit's made ?

145.

O Soul ! from body's dust set free,
Now can'st thou soar in nudity !
Since th' Empyrean is thy home,
'Twere shame on Earth's confines to roam !

146.

Last night I flung the goblet down,
This baseness did I—tipsy clown !
The Cup in mystic language spake :
" I was like thee ; like me thou'lt break !"

147.

Lift high the Cup and Jar, O love !
And gladly seek the streamside grove ;
Of many a man has Heaven malign
Made many a Cup and Flagon fine.

148.

A thousand gins Thou settest where
I roam ; Thou say'st, " Let's him ensnare ;"
The World in naught is free from Thee ;
Yet Thou a Rebel call'st poor me !

149.

A Jug of Wine—a Book of Song—
With half a loaf—for these I long ;
These are enough ; with these and Thee
In desert drear a King I'd be !

150.

Vain grief give o'er ! Live happily !
Mid unjust paths—just always be !
Since Earth at last will turn to naught,
Think Thou art nothing, free-in-thought !

151.

I gaze around ; on all sides gleam
Fair Gardens and the Kausar stream ;
The Waste a Heaven becomes, and Hell
Recedes. With Heaven-faced Beauty dwell !

152.

Be glad ! Rewards were fixed yestre'en ;
From yesterday no grace you'll glean ;
No prayer you pressed—yet, yesterday
'Twas fixed what you should do to-day.

153.

The tulip-coloured Wine outpour,
From Wine-jar's throat draw blood once more ;
For save the Wine-cup here and now,
Friend pure of heart I've none, I vow.

154.

To my heart's ear Heaven whispered low :
"From me Fate's orders hear and know !"
Had I had hand when I was shaped—
From giddiness by Wine I'd 'scaped.

155.

Had I at hand a wheaten scone,
A gourd of wine and mutton bone,
With Thee beside me in the waste,
That were a joy no King could taste.

156.

If measures two of Wine you gain,
Do not from drink in Hall refrain!
He careth not—Who made the world—
How your moustache or mine is curled.

157.

Had I had say—I were not here!
Had I control, I would go—where?
'Twere better far—on this Earth's scene—
Had I not come, or gone, or been.

158.

Ramzan goes by and Shawwal comes,
With Spring and Joy and Strollers' hums!
'Tis time the bottles up to pack
Where squat the Porters back to back!

THE FEAR OF LOVE

O COULD my love devise
 A shield for you from covetous lips and eyes
 That desecrate the sweetness of your days
 With tumults of their praise !

O could my love design
 A secret, sealed, invulnerable shrine
 To hide you, happy and inviolate,
 From envious Time and Fate !

Love ! I am drenched with fear
 Lest the uncounted avarice of the year
 Add to the triumph of all garnered grace
 The rapture of your face !

I tremble with despair
 Lest the far-journeying winds and sunbeams bear
 Bright rumours of your luring brow and breath
 Unto the groves of Death !

What sanctuary can I pledge,
 Whose very love of you is sacrilege ?
 O I would save you from the ravening fire
 Of my wild heart's desire !

SAROJINI NAIDU.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

RUSSIA AND INDIA

BY JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E., LL.D., I.C.S. (RETIRED)

“We ought to know Russia better!” So says Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace in the closing chapter of his admirable work on “Russia”; and I think it will be agreed that in the interests of India and our Empire a better understanding of Russia is a thing to be pre-eminently desired, especially at the present moment. It is in the hope of contributing, even in some small degree, to this desirable understanding that I have drawn up this short paper.

More than a quarter of a century has passed away since I took up the study of the great Russian language and literature, and since I first visited Russia. Since then I have twice revisited the land, and I have been more or less closely connected with the Anglo-Russian Literary Society ever since its establishment by Mr. Cazalet twenty-three years ago, so I think I may claim some knowledge of the Russian people, of Russian ways, and of Russian thought. Of India also I may claim to know something, having put in thirty-two years’ Indian service, of which some twenty-five were spent, chiefly in the plains, amongst the people.

Now I must confess I was deeply prejudiced against Russia and things Russian when I first set out to visit that country. My earliest memories were memories of the stupid war called the Crimean, and I was brought up to

regard the Russians as serfs and semi-savages, their land as a land of wolves and knouts, and their Tsar as "a giant liar" and a cruel despot. As I grew in years these views were confirmed by the Press of Great Britain, and when I went out to India I was always hearing of the treacherous double-dealings of Russia with the tribes of Central Asia, and of the sinister designs she was harbouring against our Indian Empire. In passing through Germany on my way to Russia these prejudices were accentuated, for I found the Germans had no good word to say for the Russians, of whom they spoke in terms of high contempt; and looking back now, I think I can trace to German sources most of the mischief-making calumnies and misrepresentations that have been circulated about Russia and her Government throughout England and India. It would perhaps be well if this Association could issue "Truths about Russia," just as it has already issued "Truths about India."

However, be that as it may, I found when I reached Russia that most of my preconceived ideas of the country and the Administration were wrong. To begin with, I found no trouble whatever about my passport, although I had been told that this would prove a subject of constant worry and annoyance, and that I should be challenged to produce it at all kinds of odd intervals and in the most inconvenient places. As a matter of fact, I wandered freely through the length and breadth of Russia, and, except at the hotels in the big towns and when leaving the country, I was never troubled about my passport at all; and I may add that during my residence in Russia I never experienced any incivility from Russian officials except once, and that was from some German underlings in St. Petersburg. In their kindly readiness to help the stranger, I found the Russian police were very like the Metropolitan and Dublin policemen and the Irish constabulary. The village police reminded me very much of the Indian village police; and coming from the plains of India, I was, of course, quite at home with the Russian village headman, the village com-

munity, and the village system generally. Many things in the customs, manners, and surroundings of the Russian people, particularly in the rural districts, are simple and plain to the traveller from the East, although they sometimes hopelessly puzzle the wanderer from the West. Like the Indians, the Russian country-folk are great upon greetings and salutations, and I was much amused at the way the slegemen and cab-drivers in Moscow and other towns used to take off their caps and hats to one another as they drove by. I remember once asking one of these drivers why he was always doffing his cap, and he reminded me that it was written in our Scriptures that the Godhead had created man in His own likeness, and "that," said the driver, "is the reason why I take off my cap to my neighbour, for in saluting him I am saluting the image of my Maker." Nothing, however, as is well-known, will induce an orthodox Russian to worship or salute a graven or carved image of any kind whatsoever (and in this he is as strict as the strictest Moslem), for this would be breaking the Commandment—"Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," etc.; but he does not care how many painted or sainted pictures he bows down to and to all appearance adores. Great is the reverence paid by Russians to eikons, or Holy Pictures, of which there are many in every orthodox Russian home and in churches and in shrines. These eikons are as numerous in Russia as "Ganpatis," "Hanumans," and "Mahadevs" in India.

When an orthodox Russian enters a room he always first salutes the Holy Picture in the east corner and crosses himself before he takes any notice of anyone in the apartment. In most of the offices and shops in Russia, besides the eikon you will also find a picture of the Emperor, and this is why you take off your hat on entering. You are, as it were, in the Imperial presence, and I understand the Public Works Department now supply all Government offices in India with similar pictures of our own King-Emperor.

In Russian churches there are no graven images and no

chairs or seats, but there are plenty of exquisite mosaics and holy pictures, or eikons, richly robed in carved gold or silver garments and studded with precious stones, representing our Lord, the Virgin, Prophets, and Holy Men of old. In a Russian church the worship is more individual than collective, and you can stand or kneel or prostrate yourself, just as the spirit moves you, or you can have a quiet chat with your neighbour while listening to the window-shaking intonations of the gorgeously robed priest. But you will hear no music save of that of the human voice, for organs are unknown in orthodox churches.

Some of the Russian manners and ways strike the English as peculiar, but the Russians feel the same with regard to English manners, which they consider capable of much improvement. Thus you offend against Russian taste by crossing your legs, or by sitting on the edge of a table, or by eating with your hat on, or by moving the salt, or by entering a room with your overcoat or goloshes on, etc. ; while the hirsute kissings and want of due discrimination in the use of the knife and fork offend the taste of the English.

Russia is in many respects Oriental, and this is, perhaps, chiefly seen in the way women are treated and regarded. Traces of the "purdah" and of the seclusion system can still be found, especially in remote provincial towns. In the villages and rural districts, however, there is little trace of the "purdah," for there the women are very much in evidence. They seem the only people who work or really *do* anything. The Russian woman is, speaking broadly, not beautiful to look upon ; but this does not matter much, for amongst the country-folk the village maiden is selected as a bride, not for her looks or accomplishments and acquirements, but for her "muscle," the chief object of the father-in-law, or head of the family, being to get a good, strong, healthy worker into the household. The bridegroom, except in rare instances, has very little to say to the choice, but piously receives his wife (as

Adam did his Eve, and as they still do in India) as "a helpmeet for him," without questioning the wisdom or judgment of those who made the choice. The ordinary Russian is, however, no believer in "woman's rights," and some of the popular sayings and proverbs of the people are even more uncomplimentary to the fair sex than some that obtain in India. Thus, if a woman offers advice unasked, she will probably be told that though her hair is long her wit is short, or that she is "lank in locks but lacking in wisdom, or loose in logic." Another saying declares that there is "only one soul in seven women!" While a third proclaims that a woman has no soul at all, but only "steam." The latter assertion, perhaps, implies a compliment, for there can be no doubt that woman is the "propelling power" in a Russian household, and in the village councils and assemblies her voice frequently prevails above that of the men. In the peasant's hut and on the farm she does everything; she is the first up in the morning and the first afield. She grinds the corn, lights the fire, prepares the meals, attends to the children, drives the plough, weeds the field, digs the potatoes—and most of these things she does *singing*!

In spite of the proverb that "He who beats his wife wounds himself," wife-beating is recognized as a right in Russia, and a peasant would be amazed if you told him he had no right to beat his wife, and he would tell you that at the village altar he swore not only to love and to cherish, but also to chastise her if necessary. I must say I never saw any wife-beating in Russia, but I have seen many a good wife belabouring her drunken spouse and dragging him along home by his shaggy red locks! The drunken husband usually takes this treatment most good-humouredly, and strives to kiss his wife as she is pulling him along, thus returning a kiss for a blow—the right thing to do—as we were taught in Sunday-school. Speaking generally, the Russian is not a brute when he is drunk (as the late Mr. Stead once erroneously maintained), and he is seldom

quarrelsome in his cups. On the contrary, he is prone to be over-amiable and effusively affectionate.

With regard to the modern dress of the Russian lady, I fear I cannot speak with much appreciation. It always seemed to be somewhat "bunchy"; but fashions change, and perhaps they dress more gracefully now. The peasant woman is fond of bright colours, and in dress generally resembles a bolster tied in the middle, with a red shawl fixed on to the top; but the ancient national dress of the Russian woman is a veritable triumph of art.

The position of women in Russia is, of course, not now what it used to be, and it is to Peter the Great that the emancipation of the women in Russia is chiefly due. He did away with the old custom according to which the bride and bridegroom were not allowed to meet until the day of the marriage ceremony, and the bride was not unveiled till the marriage ceremony was over. He aimed at the equality of the sexes, and published a decree that six weeks should elapse between the engagement and the wedding, so that the couple might make each other's acquaintance. He encouraged the education of women, and got his own daughters educated. It is suspected that English ladies (of whom there were always several at the Russian Court from the days of John the Terrible) really influenced Peter in making these innovations. Peter's wife and sister also helped the Emperor in his heroic efforts to better the position of women in Russia. Talischer—one of Peter's advisers in the matter—was a kind of Lord Chesterfield, and wrote letters to his son. In one of these he says: "A man should marry at thirty, and should look neither for wealth nor beauty, but for a wife with whom he may pass his life happily"; but he adds: "beware of putting yourself in her power, for that is shameful to a man."

And now a few words about Russian men. Perhaps I had better begin with the first Russian man—the Little Father, the Tsar himself.

Our journals constantly represent the Little Father as

leading a haunted, hunted life, carefully surrounded by guards and secret police. From my own personal knowledge and observation I can refute these representations. The Tsar moves about amongst his people as freely and with as little ostentation or precaution as the members of our own Royal Family. I have seen him driving about in a single-horsed sledge all by himself, and on ceremonial occasions I have watched the Imperial procession moving slowly down long lanes of respectful spectators, with only a few policemen about twenty or thirty yards apart to keep the crowds in order. I may here mention in passing that some years ago I discovered that the Románofs (the ruling family of Russia) are of Scottish descent, their direct ancestor being one Andrew Campbell. But, Scot or not, the Tsar contrives "to sit on the Pole" and to preserve order throughout his vast dominions. The fact of the matter is, the Emperor is regarded as a semi-divine personage, and is the well-beloved representative of his people—in very truth their "Little Father"!—and the accounts which represent him as a dreadful tyrant are all nonsense. His throne is as broad-based upon his people's will as that of our own "temperate Kings." Of course there are Nihilists in Russia as elsewhere, but the Nihilists I met in Russia (and I did meet some) were wild University youths or hot-headed schoolboys full of Greek and Roman ideas of patriotism and liberty like the young Irishman of my youth and the young Indian student of my middle age. There are, of course, tyrannical officials in Russia, just as there are amongst us, and these are justly hated; and the Chinovniks generally are regarded by the Russians very much as the Dublin Castle officials are regarded by the Irish, or as some desire the I.C.S. men to be regarded by the Indians. Indeed, in many respects the Russian men resemble the Irish and the Indians. They may not be very easy to understand, and they are often somewhat unreasonable, but they are hospitable, generous, and warm-hearted, their chief characteristics being a love of hospitality,

jollity and good-fellowship, ever ready to give you of their best and to keep their worst for themselves. A very lovable, light-hearted people are the Russians, fond of sad songs, tea, beer and brandy or vodka. The peasants and village labourers (again like the Indian and Irish cultivators) are very happy-go-lucky, inclined to take things easily, to indulge in "Kalatnost" ("dressing-gownedness"), "fatalism," and "perhapsedness"; "What will be, will be"; "Perhaps. Don't be afraid, and God is not without mercy." To get a good idea of the Russians one should see them at the railway-stations and in the village inns and taverns as well as in their own homes. They seem seldom to be in a hurry (except when they are driving or sledging, and then they go the pace). They arrive at the railway-stations, just like the people in India, hours before the time fixed for the departure of the train, and loiter contentedly about the spacious waiting-rooms carrying huge pillows (for a Russian never travels anywhere without a pillow), or they sit feasting in the truly regal refreshment-rooms; while their ladies stroll up and down on the platforms outside smoking cigarettes, or sit drinking tea in a corner round a samovar. Wherever a Russian man or woman goes, the samovar is in evidence.

The leading characteristics of the Russian people, high and low, are thus certainly hospitality and kindness to strangers; and here, perhaps, I may be allowed to quote my friend Mr. Hands, with whom I worked for a time in Russia, and whose observations and conclusions about things Russian coincide with my own. He says:

"There is no country in the world where such hospitality can be found as the hospitality that meets you everywhere in Russia. In Russia friendship means more than in any other country of which I have any knowledge. In Russia the home means more than in other countries save one. The Russian loves his home and his wife and his friend. He loves to find himself surrounded by his friends in his own home, to give them of his best, both in welcome and

entertainment. His hospitality is without the slightest trace of ostentation. He does not desire to impress you with his wealth or his generosity, but he gives you of his best because of his desire to give you pleasure. The national samovar is not primarily a device for making delicious tea ; it is a device for making delicious tea for a large number of guests. The Russian house is designed and arranged for the accommodation of a large number of guests. The Russian's hospitality is a national as well as an individual characteristic. There is no part of the earth, not even Aldgate or Park Lane, where the foreigner has been given such opportunity, and has made such good use of it. English and German and French and Belgian, but especially Germans, have crowded into Russia " (as into India), "and have crowded out the natives from every branch of lucrative commerce, and the Russian welcomes them all. But he likes the English best, I am told, and it is because the English are likest to himself. A good-hearted, kindly, warm-blooded man, he eats too much, and drinks ardent spirits that are not good for him, and is cheerful under difficulties, and is conscious of his imperfections, and is indolent and takes things as they come, and manages to muddle through somehow. But I know another who is very much the same, and I like him very much. The fault of the Russian system is absence of system, which is the fault of the English system too. The fault of the Russian Government is that it fails to govern, which is the fault of the Government in England. It is an amateur performance in both countries, the chief difference being that we do nothing with the assistance of a costly and elaborate Parliament, whereas in Russia they do just as little without the assistance of any such institution. They have *no* machine, and we have a machine which does not work. The result is about the same in each case when you come to examine the achievements of the two War Offices, for example. And the qualities which in the sum go to make national inefficiency and incapacity are the qualities which

in the individual Russian make him likeable. The cheerful, easy-going, easily-contented disposition that takes things as they come, and accepts things as they are, is not the equipment for a man or nation that wants to get on, but it is a very agreeable, companionable quality in a friend."

Now I think this is a very just and fair estimate and description of the real character of the Russian people. Left to themselves, Russians get on well with most races and peoples. Their power of ready coalition with other nationalities is wonderful, and even with the Jew they have no quarrel *as a Jew*. But the Russian peasants are easily stirred to wrath when they think they are wronged, and they, like their Irish and Indian brothers, have no great love for the money-lender. It is with the usurer they quarrel, not with the Jew ; and it is a mistake to imagine that the persecution of the Jewish race as a race is encouraged or countenanced by the Russian authorities. Now the Russian Jews are Russian and loyal (just as English Jews are English and loyal), and there are old-established Jewish families dwelling in many parts of Russia uninterfered with, and even enjoying headships of villages and other positions of importance. But it is true the bulk of the Jewish population is confined to the "pale," and cannot leave the limits of the pale without licence. I may tell you that I happened to be in Russia when the desirability of compelling Jews who had strayed or stayed beyond the pale to return within its limits was painfully pressed upon the Russian Government. At that time the Russian authorities found themselves face to face with a state of things closely resembling the situation which confronted the Government of Sir James Fergusson in Bombay when the anti-Marwadi riots broke out, and when the Mahrathi peasantry burnt the books of the usurers and murdered the money-lenders. To save the situation executive action had to be taken in Bombay to compel the Marwadis to retire to Marwad, their own country (or

"pale"), and special laws had to be hurriedly passed to rescue the Dekhani cultivators from spoliation and to restore peace. In the same way the Russian Government found itself compelled to insist on the return of Jewish merchants and money-lenders who had, without licence, settled beyond the pale. Of course many cases of hardship resulted, but there was nothing to justify the monstrously mendacious statements about persecution which appeared in the British Press of the day.

The Jewish question in Russia is a purely Russian question, and I know the Russian Jews themselves are particularly anxious that there should be no ignorant interference in this matter from outside. A better feeling has already sprung up and prevails in Russia, and the splendid patriotism of the Russian Jew in the present crisis of Russia's fate is certain to be recognized by the grateful, warm-hearted Russian race as it deserves to be recognized; and we may be also sure that the Emperor's Government will not allow the services of his Jewish subjects to go unrewarded. The matter is one for internal adjustment and arrangement. In pretty much the same way the "Polish question" is a purely Russian question. The quarrel between the Poles and Russians has always been a family quarrel which no outsider could fully understand, and in which alien interference has always done more harm than good. But it must be a source of satisfaction to every well-wisher of Russia that this long-standing family quarrel now shows every prospect of being satisfactorily settled.

While on the subject of misunderstandings within Russia, I might perhaps be allowed to refer for a moment to the incidents of "Red Sunday," which have been so grossly misrepresented throughout the civilized world, and especially in England and India. I was in St. Petersburg on that memorable occasion, and spent the morning of the fatal day partly in the palace of the Grand Duke Vladimir and partly at the British Embassy, over

which Sir Charles Hardinge (now Lord Hardinge, Governor-General of India) then presided. From these points of vantage I witnessed the opening of the drama, and the afternoon I spent in the streets of St. Petersburg, where I myself saw the soldiers firing upon the mob at the Police Bridge over the canal in the Nevsky Prospect. I happened to be on the left flank of the company holding the bridge just at the time when they reluctantly opened fire on the crowd. The mob did not attack the soldiers, but individual rioters jeered and hooted, and the crowd did not disperse when called upon to do so. This was their offence. They had broken the law. The soldiers first fired three blank volleys, and then, finding that the crowd did not disperse or withdraw, they fired ball. I attribute the deplorable slaughter that followed not to any brutality on the part of the soldiery, not to any design on the part of the Grand Ducal or other authorities, but simply (1) to the loss of touch between military and police on the occasion, and (2) to the military regulations authorizing the employment of blank cartridge in dispersing disobedient mobs. As a matter of fact the Police Governor, owing to some misunderstanding, or perhaps piqued at his supersession by the military, had ordered the police to withdraw to their barracks, and the soldiery were thus left face to face with the crowd. The firing of blank cartridge instead of ball led many innocent persons in the crowd to believe that the military were not in earnest, and encouraged the really mutinous. One can imagine what would happen here in London if, in similar circumstances, the Commissioner of Police were to withdraw his men and leave the military to control the mob. Indeed, had the police not interposed between the military and the mob in Trafalgar Square on a certain memorable occasion (well within memory of some of us), I venture to think bloodshed must have resulted, and Mr. John Burns would probably never have become a Minister of the Crown ; and in India, I think, we have learnt by experiences how fatal it is

to fire blank cartridge when dealing with popular outbreaks.

Of one thing I am certain, and that is that there was no intentional cruelty or undue severity on the part of the Palace people on that fatal Sunday when they were suddenly called upon to deal with a very dangerous situation, and I know that no one was more distressed than the Grand Duke Vladimir himself when he learnt that the Military had been left face to face with the crowd, that firing had commenced, and that innocent victims had fallen. There was also no brutality on the part of the soldiers, for the Russian soldiers are certainly not brutal, and I noted that there was some hesitation in changing from blank to ball and that the soldiers aimed high ; but orders had to be obeyed, and the crowds had to be dispersed.

I have seen a good deal of the Russian soldier during my residence in Russia. I used to visit the barracks and the sergeants' messes, and I spent some weeks in camps of exercise with the Astrakan Regiment of the Russian Army—the 12th Grenadiers—of which the late Emperor was Chief. The regiment was originally raised by a Scot named Roman Bruce, eldest son of one William Bruce, who migrated to Russia in Cromwell's time ; and the regiment was commanded, when I was with it, by a Tartar Colonel, a Muhammadan. I used to find the Bible very much in evidence in the sergeants' mess, and the knowledge which the common Russian soldier possessed of the poets of his native land (Pushkin and Lermontoff, Nekrasoff and others) was simply wonderful. It is quite a mistake to imagine that Russian soldiers are as a rule ignorant and illiterate. This is not true even of the majority, and many of them may be described as well-educated. But to whatever class the rank and file belong they make the best of things, and are wonderfully cheerful and contented. Though their pay is miserably poor (about 1½d. a day) and their work often very hard, you never hear them growling or grumbling.

In pluck and, I may add, in capacity for never knowing when they are beaten, they resemble our own soldiers ; and as to their devotion to their native land—Holy Russia—and their Little Father—the Emperor—there is not the shadow of a doubt. They are ready to give their lives freely for both, and with them war against the Teuton enemy is a religious duty. It is strange how history repeats itself. In the Battle of Kunersdorp (fought on August 1, 1759, against Frederick the Great) this Astrakan regiment lost thirty-two officers and more than half its rank and file, but it was mainly due to the charge they made that the victory was won. It may be recalled that this Battle of Kunersdorp first resulted in an apparent victory for the Prussians. They captured ninety guns and drove the Russians from point to point of their position to the extreme spur or last ledge of a long ridge of low hills. Here, as evening fell, the Russians made a final stand, but Frederick was so sure of victory that he sent off a despatch to Berlin announcing the rout of the Russians (just as William II. is so fond of doing now). But “he laughs best who laughs last,” says the Russian and English proverb, and the Russians had the last and best laugh. Next morning, when the Prussian battalions renewed the attack and charged up the height against the Russian position, they were received with such a murderous fire that they were driven back in all directions. The Russian soldier is never so dangerous as when standing at bay, like the bear of his native wilds, and on this occasion the Russians “greatly stood at bay.” In vain the Prussians again and again renewed the assault ; they fell back in confusion each time, until at last the Astrakan regiment, the Grenadiers, charged down and routed them completely. The Prussian King, Frederick the Great himself, was severely bruised in this fight (having had two horses killed under him) and was very nearly taken prisoner. The Prussian loss in killed and wounded amounted to 10,000 men, and they lost 178 guns, and some 5,000 surrendered as prisoners of war.

The memory of this achievement still lives in the Astrakan regiment, and is cherished by the rank and file.

Jubilant in victory, inclined like his Indian and Irish comrade to exaggerate deeds of military daring and prowess and acts of individual heroism, the Russian soldier is seldom depressed by defeat, and is always ready to account for or minimize disaster, by declaring that the enemy was from twice to ten times as strong as himself, and that defeat was due to no fault or defect on his own part. This is, perhaps, only saying that the Russian soldier is human, but I think it ought also to be recorded and remembered that he is Christian and humane. His foes need fear no demoniacal mutilation, no dastardly cut-throat treachery, no Tartar or Teuton atrocity at his hands. His religion, (nay, his very superstition if you will) has taught him the meaning of a fair field, and in dealing with Russians Christian nations ought not to forget that they have to do with intensely earnest followers of the faith they themselves profess.

But in addition to being Christian the Russians are a "singing nation," and in that fact lies much of their strength and cheerfulness. The way the Russian soldiers burst into song as they march along, struggling against vile weather and worse roads, is as inspiring as John Peel's "Tally-ho!" As has been well said, there is perhaps no country in the world where love of song may so justly be claimed as a natural characteristic as in the great Russian Empire. Russians never sing coldly, and absence of feeling (the "teacher's despair," as it has been called) is a fault rarely met with amongst them. When they sing they put their whole heart into the song, and their sweetest songs are often those that tell of saddest thought. The Russians also love dancing, and they will dance to the concertina or the drum if no other musical instrument be available, and their country dances often reminded me of the hill-dances I have seen in India. But in Russia the women begin

dancing first and the men join in afterwards, whereas in India it is just the other way.

Time would fail me to tell of the many other points in which resemblances can be traced between India and Russia, but I may just mention one great characteristic—namely, the spirit of brotherhood and equality which prevails. In the free and familiar way in which orderlies talk to their officers, and in which even Grand Dukes are addressed and accosted, in the easy and unconcerned manner in which the peasant will sit down beside the grandee on the roadside benches or on board the river steamers, or stand or kneel beside him in church, one recognizes the democratic idealism of the East.

It is with a people characterized by the qualities I have endeavoured to describe that Great and Greater Britain and India are now happily in firm alliance, and from this alliance I for one look forward with confidence to great and abiding benefits both to the East and to the West, and especially to India. I have never believed in the policy of buffer-states and bottled-up harbours; and following Sir Alfred Lyall and others who knew India and her true interests well, I have for the last twenty-five years consistently advocated combination and co-operation with Russia. Until the Crimean War Russia had always been our friend and ally, and during the Crimean War it must be recalled the Emperor Nicholas protected British colonists and merchants in Russia, and allowed the British in Moscow to pray in their church there that Queen Victoria might have victory over all her enemies. Russia has always proved a generous foe and, war or no war, has never repudiated her debts.

She is in truth a great democratic Power, and she has saved Europe more than once from tyrannous foes. She has given peace to Central Asia, and is helping to revive its cultivation and civilization. And now an abiding alliance between her and Great Britain will probably prove the best safeguard of the rights and freedom of the

peoples and nations of the East, while securing the populations of the West from future wars of aggression and destruction.

As I ventured to predict some twenty-five years ago :

“ England and Russia allied Powers,
India secure and strong and free ;
Over the West no war-cloud lowers,
The East regains its liberty !”

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Tuesday, June 29, 1915, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, at which a paper was read entitled, "Russia and India," by Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D., I.C.S. (retired). The chair was taken by Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., and the following ladies and gentlemen were present: Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Sir Frederick Dumayne, Sir Frederick Robertson, LL.D., Mr. T. Stoker, C.S.I., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. N. N. Wadia, Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. Albert Bruce-Joy, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. P. Phillipowsky, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. Christie, Mr. W. B. Tripp, Mrs. Whalley Wickham, Miss Wade, Mr. J. H. Munro, Mr. Krishna Kurup, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Mr. Presgrave and Miss Drury, Mrs. Walsh, Mrs. Haigh, Mrs. Hart, Miss Conolly, Mr. E. B. Harris, Mrs. Hastings, Mrs. Tidswell, Miss Webster, Mrs. Furnell, Mrs. Drury, Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., Mr. and Mrs. Koelman, Mrs. Wigley, Mrs. Kinnier-Tarte, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Beauchamp, Mrs. Richard Couchman, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Blaise, Dr. Crump, Mrs. Collis, Miss James, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. Syud Hossain, Mr. J. A. Malcolm (Hon. Secretary, the Russia Society), Mrs. Bean, Miss Lee, Mrs. J. H. White, Captain and Mrs. Jobson Scott, Mr. E. Pargiter, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Mr. James Macdonald, Mr. S. E. Craig, Colonel A. F. Laughton, Miss Laughton, Mr. W. Corfield, Mrs. Beverley, Mr. MacInnes, Miss Massey, Mrs. Gordon Farquharson, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. K. H. Ramayya, Mr. P. W. Marsh, Mr. J. Mathai, Miss A. Elmslie, Miss L. Elmslie, Professor Bickerton, Miss Ashworth, Miss Greer, Miss Phillips, Professor H. M. Leon, Mr. M. A. Azim, Mr. A. E. Bonser, Mrs. Greathed, Miss Kenworthy Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Woodcock, Mr. Chuni Lal Anand.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I understand that at these lectures it is customary for the Chairman to introduce the Lecturer to the audience, but on the present occasion this formality seems hardly necessary, as the distinguished lecturer must be already known to you all, at least by reputation.

The subject of to-day's lecture is "Russia and India." In both of these countries Dr. Pollen has spent a considerable amount of time, and he intends to describe to us, I believe, certain similarities which he has discovered in the character and customs of the two races. From a little conversation with him I know that he found the Russians a very sympathetic people, and that he desires to dispel some of the traditional erroneous conceptions concerning them. Some forty years ago I ventured to express publicly the opinion that the two nations ought to know each other better, and I have felt the necessity for their better acquaintance all the more keenly since we became allies. Now I will not detain you any longer with introductory remarks, and will simply invite Dr. Pollen to enlighten us on the subject of his lecture.

The lecture was read and received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN (who was received with applause), said: Ladies and gentlemen, I see in the agenda, just handed to me by the Secretary, that after the lecturer the chairman will address the meeting. With regard to that decision I was not consulted, but I must obey orders, and I begin by saying that in Dr. Pollen's view of the Russian character I fully concur. (Hear, hear.) About the current popular misapprehensions, there is one with regard to which I may perhaps be allowed to say a word or two. I refer to the traditional idea that a Russian Tsar must be a ruthless despot. Of the present Tsar I can speak from direct personal observation. Before he succeeded to the throne I had the privilege of travelling with him for some time in the East, and I have since had not a few opportunities of studying his character and political views. The general conclusion at which I have arrived is that he is a humane, thoroughly honest and well-intentioned ruler. A few years ago, as we all know, he created, under the name of the Imperial Duma, something like a House of Commons, which exercises a considerable amount of influence on the policy of the Government—notably by criticizing the annual budget of the Empire. Its influence is destined, I believe, to increase. Meanwhile, with all its good qualities and excellent intentions, it suffers from the defects of youthfulness and inexperience, and in its hurry to secure great results it sometimes runs the risk of coming into conflict with the Imperial authority as established by the fundamental laws. On these occasions Nicholas II. happily shows a remarkable spirit of tolerance, so that hitherto no serious conflicts have arisen. This augurs well for the future, and I believe that the younger members of the present generation may live long enough to witness in Russia a normal development of Parliamentary institutions.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, in accordance with the next article of the agenda, I have to suggest that some members of the audience might express briefly their opinion of Dr. Pollen's interesting lecture.

MR. YUSUF ALI said he felt he ought to bear a tribute of praise to such an interesting and valuable paper. Speaking of Russia and India, there were three points he would like to place before them. Dr. Pollen had touched upon the subject of Russian music. They would remember the many occasions recently on which Russian and Indian music had been presented side by side, and many people more competent to judge than

himself had pronounced the combination as being by no means purely fortuitous. There were movements in Russian music reminding one of movements in Indian music; there were basic qualities common to both—pensiveness, spontaneity and a close connection with folk, feelings, and ideas. Any want of appreciation in the West was not due to deficiencies in the systems so much as to their unfamiliarity.

The second point was about Russian religion. It seemed to him that the mould and cast of religion, the ideas of Church government and the universal penetration of religious ideals in all affairs of life were the three features which were common to the Russian people and the people of India and the East generally. The Russian was not afraid of confessing his religion; he was willing to acknowledge that in all affairs of life he had the guidance of a higher power and he stood forth boldly bringing that fact into relief. (Hear, hear.)

The third point was the Russian bulldog tenacity of character. That had been shown over and over again in Russian history. And did we not know the subtle pertinacity of the East? She might bow low before the storm, but she lost neither courage nor identity. That was a quality which was telling in this great war, the Russian was the first to enter German territory. He was driven back, but again he entered enemy territory; again he was checked, and again he has entered. Each time we were told by the enemy that the Russian armies had been annihilated, but we still find them stronger and more powerful than ever.

Those three qualities were so splendid that he felt it incumbent upon himself to mention them. He would conclude with the hope that when the final settlement came the British flag with the star of India would wave side by side with the Russian flag in the city of Berlin! (Hear, hear.)

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD said: He was feeling so weak, and would but briefly and bluntly say exactly how he had felt while listening to Dr. Pollen's literally entralling lecture. It had not only cheered him and delighted him, but had absolutely strengthened him—*physically* strengthened him. The lecturer was an old friend of his, and therefore he would not hesitate to say to his face that never in all his own life had he heard a paper read that more interested him by the soundness of the views and opinions it affirmed, by the simple and clear expression of them and by the impression it at once made on its hearers. He only hoped that it would receive the widest circulation a "good press" could give it, especially within the benighted "United Kingdom"; for wherever it was read it would not fail to enlighten public opinion in this country and to influence it in the most salutary and effective manner in our present and future relations with the people of Russia. He entirely agreed with Dr. Pollen that the power of Russia lay in the profoundly religious character of her people. Everywhere, and in all things, the beneficence and efficiency of our material human life was dependent on the strength of our spiritual faiths and hopes and charities. All true virility is sustained by them—a fact that has ever been recognized by the great military empires of the world's history, and by none more clearly than by the all-conquering Romans. Indeed, nothing more conduces to the promotion of discipline and courage in an army than

a careful religious nurture of the men of all ranks composing it, individually and collectively ; and there can be no stable and enduring national life of any type where religion is not recognized as its intrinsic basis and buttress. You can do nothing of any virtue, of any praise, apart from religious inspiration ; and there is no hope for the future of this country unless in some way or other the old religious faith of our forefathers is resuscitated and revived among ourselves and throughout our colonies. He had ever felt that all the wonderful material benefits we had conferred on India had been wantonly and most dangerously jeopardized by the manner in which we had done everything in our power to undermine the faith of the great people of that country in their historical religion.

He had been deeply touched by the explanation given by Dr. Pollen of the universal custom among the Russians, of the men, as they fared along the streets and highways, taking off their hats to each other ; and those of us who have heard of it here to-day should bear it in remembrance evermore, and, as all men are "made in the image of God," salute those who salute us with all the devouter worshipfulness. It recalled to him the Hindu custom of men of the highest castes giving place, wherever it might be, to any labouring man, low caste or outcast, if engaged in his labour, a custom he [Sir George] had always religiously observed from the day he first observed it, and found the explanation of it in the Code of Manu.

MR. SYUD HOSSAIN said they had listened to a lecture which was characterized by the general friendliness and optimism they had learned to associate with Dr. Pollen's personality. At the same time it was rather a disappointment to him that he had not more strongly brought out the title of his paper—namely, *Russia and India*. India figured very incidentally. He agreed, however, that the whole question of the Anglo-Russian alliance, which was being cemented in common suffering and sacrifice at present, had for its most important ultimate consequence the good or otherwise of India. He would welcome every such attempt as that represented by the lecture to educate the British public more widely and intimately with regard to Russia and its people than had yet been the case, but that process must not take certain lines, which he feared might be the reverse of beneficial. He recalled the phrase of a distinguished friend, that there was such a thing as re-writing history in the light of current events, and if the work of the enlightenment of the British public about Russia and her affairs was allowed to be tainted with that kind of shallow opportunism, he was afraid some of them would be rather sceptical, when the smoke of battle had blown aside, as to the permanent value of the alliance. They must reconcile themselves to the fact of the existence of the Anglo-Russian alliance, but it seemed to him that, if it was to be something more than a mere diplomatic arrangement, rather more was called for than an innocuous exchange of compliments on the basis of a more or less uncritical reading of Russian history and character. Many of them thought it ought to be the duty of those responsible for the consolidation of the alliance to see that Russian politics and Russian ideas of government should come very largely to be inoculated with the spirit of British traditions and British liberty. He was not prepared to accept Dr. Pollen's suggestion that the notorious Jewish problem

in Russia, the question of Poland and of Finland, and the future of Persia were matters of purely domestic concern to Russia and outside the range of interest of the British people. They were all questions possessed of great moral significance, as well as political importance, for the British Empire. And as it was important that the British public should not be committed in a hurry to the orthodox Russian views and practices on these questions, we should take care that no moral support was derived by the Russian Government by reason of the alliance for the perpetuation of the policy in question. All their powers of persuasion and education should be brought to bear on the Russian Government with a view to impregnating them more and more with the true spirit of British ideas. It would be a shortsighted policy for those who expected great things of the Alliance to overlook these considerations. That would not do us any good, any more than it would be beneficial to Russia in the long run. The question should resolve itself into a mutual give-and-take between the two parties. And if we had to give of our democratic traditions and political ideals, we could also learn much from the essential humanity and simplicity of the Russian people, from the spiritual idealism that animated them to which Sir George Birdwood had paid such a feeling tribute. But we could not forget that, unfortunately, the spirit of the people was not reflected in the temper of the Government. It was the people that produced Tolstoy, and all the Government could do was to ban the greatest ethical teacher of his time while he lived and anathematize him when he died! One hoped that the spirit of such unregenerate intolerance was not going to be fortified by the alliance.

COLONEL YATE, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman, said that he could not very well speak on Russia in the presence of their Chairman, who was the greatest living authority we had on Russia, but he was glad to hear the Chairman so thoroughly endorse all that the lecturer had said. With his great experience of the country such an endorsement was of the greatest possible value.

With regard to the question of the hospitality of the Russians, which the lecturer had so cordially dwelt upon, he thought everyone who had travelled there must agree that their hospitality was one of their greatest virtues; he himself had never had such hospitality in the world as in Russia. He had formed one of a Parliamentary deputation to Russia some years ago, and he would never forget the extraordinary enthusiasm and hospitality with which that deputation was received; it was a thing that would never be effaced from the memories of either himself or the Chairman, or any of the others who participated in it. One thing that particularly struck him during that visit to Russia was the enormous improvement that had taken place in the Russian army. They would all remember the stories that were current at the time of the siege of Port Arthur, but the war with Japan had made the most salutary difference in the whole Russian army. The Russian soldier was one of the most dogged soldiers in the world. He would stand more without flinching than almost any soldier of any country. We could all remember what punishment the Russians could take so far back as the days of the Crimea, and we could

see them now taking the most terrific punishment at the hands of the Germans, and yet despite it all they had not been driven into any disorder.

Then, again, as the lecturer had said, the Russians were the most religious nation in the world, and they were indeed the most magnificent singers. He had marched with Russian regiments when singing on the march; he had attended those wonderful services in the cathedrals of Petrograd and Moscow, where the singing was something superb, and he had been on a pilgrimage ship conveying Russian pilgrims to Jerusalem, and he could assure them the devotion of those pilgrims was the sight of a lifetime.

He was glad to think we were now in alliance with the Russians. There was great difficulty, he had often found, in getting to the bottom of the Russian mind when once you began to talk to him about diplomatic matters, but he hoped the present alliance would be the means of settling all subjects which required a satisfactory settlement between the two countries.

He would, in conclusion, ask them to join with him in a most cordial vote of thanks to their Chairman for presiding over their meeting.

MR. JAMES A. MALCOLM (founder of the Russia Society) said it was a great honour and pleasure to him to be called upon to second the vote of thanks. It required no words of commendation from him. Unfortunately he did not hear the whole of the paper read, but anyone who had heard any part of it would be perfectly certain that the parts he did not hear were equally excellent. He had been so impressed with what he had heard that he hoped the Society of which he happened to be honorary secretary—the Russia Society—would be allowed to circulate copies of the paper amongst their own members. It was a paper which so effectually and yet so simply disposed of the stupid old Anglo-Russian prejudices. (Hear, hear.)

I ask you to hold up your hands in the usual manner. Those who are in favour? (Carried unanimously)

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I have to express my thanks to the last two speakers for the flattering terms in which they have spoken of your Chairman, and to the audience for the cordiality with which the vote of thanks has been received.

THE LECTURER'S REPLY.

Dr. Pollen writes—

Owing to the lateness of the hour and the warmth of the weather, I elected not to ask the audience to listen to my reply, but had I spoken I should have thanked Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace most heartily for his kindness in presiding, and I should have endorsed Colonel Yate's statement that Sir Donald was "our greatest living authority on Russia." That being so, I should have added how particularly gratifying it was to me to find such an authority concurring in my view of the character of the Russian peoples. I should also have taken the opportunity of thanking

Sir George Birdwood for speaking of me in the very kind way he did, and I should have repeated what I said at the opening of my address—that it was from Sir George himself that I received the first encouraging words when, more than a quarter of a century ago, I spoke out what I believed to be the truth about the great Russian people and its Government. Both Sir George Birdwood and Mr. Yusuf Ali dwelt most impressively on the religious ideals of the Russian people and on the earnestness and devotion of India and of the East generally, and I should have expressed my complete concurrence with what they had both said about the profoundly religious character of both peoples.

Dealing with the criticism of Mr. Syud Hossain, I should have admitted the incidental nature of my references to India, but would have pleaded that I was addressing an audience who had—most of them—close knowledge of that great Empire, and who needed only a slight hint in order to appreciate the true significance of the similarities between India and Russia on which I touched. I should also have pointed out that in my paper there was no attempt at “rewriting history in the light of current events,” because I had merely set forth things I had seen and impressions I had formed about Russia and India—while in Russia and India—many years ago, when the anticipation of “the current events” of to-day would have been regarded as “a madman’s dream.” Indeed, who would have ever imagined even a year ago that the Hun would reappear with such brutality in Europe, and that the Belgian atrocities and the *Lusitania* outrage on neutrals would have been possible? or that Russia, Britain, Greater Britain, France, India, and Ireland would be fighting side by side against the German Empire in the cause of Belgium and of human kind? It was not, therefore, in order to rewrite history or to indulge in any spirit of “shallow optimism” that I had drawn up this paper, but simply to help to do away with gross misunderstandings of a great people. In claiming that the Jewish problem in Russia was one to be solved by Russians themselves (including, of course, the Russian Jews), I think I was right, because Russian Jews have no other Fatherland than Russia, and, as I endeavoured to show in my paper, the brain and heart of Russia are sound (far sounder than we Britons and Indians have been led to imagine), and the passionate fidelity of the Russian Jew to his Fatherland has touched the Russian heart, while the brain-power of the Jew has helped the brain of the Russian Government. That this is so is proved by the fact that the leading men in Russia have spoken out, and have declared publicly that “the well-being and the power of Russia, the happiness and freedom of the race, are closely connected with the happiness and freedom of all nationalities forming part of the great Russian Empire.” Nay, they have gone further, and have said: “Let us consult our reason and our conscience, and lay down as an essential condition of our Imperial structure the cessation of Jewish persecution and the complete equalization of Jewish rights with our own.” These were the sincere sentiments which animated the Russian students in the Moscow University when I knew them there twenty-six years ago, and now, after this lapse of years, open expression is being freely given to these thoughts and feelings throughout

the Russia of to-day. So Mr. Syud Hossain need have no fear with regard to the Russians obtaining moral support in this matter from Great Britain and India. The Russians are ready to do the right thing without our support or sanction. In the same way the Russian Government had anticipated us in their declarations with regard to Poland, and as regards Persia, I for one have never believed that England and Russia have ever intended to deal otherwise than fairly and honourably with that ancient Kingdom, which is bound to regain its old prosperity, and will probably welcome back many of its sons from Bombay and other parts of India.

Mr. Syud Hossain was quite right in insisting that all our powers of persuasion and education should be brought to bear on the Russian Government with a view to the impregnation of the true spirit of British ideas, but he may rest assured that there has been no consistent policy of repression towards the non-Russian races in Russia (as there has always been against non-Germans in Germany), and that in Russia "the crime of colour" is unknown. I should probably have enlarged on the fact that we have been led to look at Russia far too much through the eyes of a malignant Germany, which has consistently endeavoured to blacken every blot, and has left no stone unturned to make an understanding or an alliance between England, India, and Russia an impossibility.

Dealing with what Mr. Syud Hossain had said with regard to the intolerant treatment of Tolstoy by the Russian Government, I would have pointed out that the Russian Government had repented, and that the prosecution of prophets was not confined to Russia. At any rate, steps had been taken to make some atonement by treating the sepulchre of the mighty Master as the sepulchres of prophets had been treated in all ages throughout the world.

In conclusion, I should, I think, have insisted that had Russia and England come to an understanding when Sir Donald Mackenzie wrote the first edition of his great work forty years ago, the present calamity might have been avoided, and I should have maintained my contention that, in the cordial co-operation of the Allies with India, lies the best hope for the liberties and prosperity of the East.

OBITUARY

- ROBERT FELLOWS CHISHOLM, B.A., C.E., F.R.I.B.A., F.R.S.A., Member of the Council of the East India Association, died on May 27 at his residence in Southsea, after a short illness, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was twice married, and leaves two sons by his first marriage. By his second marriage he had several children, of whom only one son, a Lieutenant-Commander in the Navy, is living. His widow also survives him.

Mr. Chisholm, who was born on November 3, 1838, was an artist's son, and inherited great artistic abilities and was a draughtsman of a high order. After serving his apprenticeship to an architect, he obtained, in his twenty-first year, an appointment in Bengal as Special Assistant Engineer in the Railway Department. He passed the necessary standards in Bengali and Hindustani, and was employed in Patna, Puri and Cuttack. His success in an architectural competition attracted the notice of the Government of Madras to whom he was transferred as Executive Engineer in June, 1865. He was made a Fellow of the University of Madras in 1867, and received the then novel appointment of Consulting Architect to Government in 1869. In 1876 he was made Superintendent of the School of Industrial Arts in addition to his other duties. He retired on pension on February 1, 1886, and engaged in architectural work in Bombay.

Mr. Chisholm had a keen appreciation of Indian art, and his originality in adapting Hindu and Moslem architectural styles to the needs of public buildings came as a surprise, at first indeed as a shock, to the public of Madras, whose

admiration was unstinted as his finest achievements rose to view. In Madras he designed the Presidency College, the Offices of the Board of Revenue, the Senate House of the University, the Central Station of the Madras Railway, the Lying-in Hospital, the Public Works Offices at Chepaul, the Post and Telegraph Office (a novel, and in the opinion of some an almost bizarre, attempt to unite the Hindu and Moslem styles in one building), and the Victoria Memorial Hall (built by public subscription). In the Provinces he designed Christ Church at Cuddapah, (a remarkably attractive building), the Government College at Kumbhakonum, the Napier Museum at Trevandrum, the Lawrence Asylum at Ootacamund. Among works of restoration and adaptation are Tirumal Naik's palace at Madura, the old palace at Trichinopoly and the new palace at Royapet.

While in Bombay Mr. Chisholm built for the Gaekwar the great new Palace of Baroda. This building covers an area of about 60,000 square feet, and is of a most costly character. While engaged on this work Mr. Chisholm had the misfortune to fall from a scaffold and break his leg, but he eventually recovered without permanent injury. In Baroda he also erected the new College and the Museum and Pavilion. After his return to England his last architectural work was the Christian Science Church in Sloane Street.

Mr. Chisholm's artistic gifts were not confined to architecture. He made prolonged and elaborate experiments in pottery, and introduced various improvements in the School of Arts. He was, like his father, skilled in painting, was an admirable actor and the fortunate possessor of a fine tenor voice, carefully trained and developed, and he was one of the chief supporters of the Madras Philharmonic Society. He was of a remarkably sunny disposition, and his friendship was prized by all who knew him. His counsel and support will be greatly missed by the East India Association.

The following resolution was passed by the Council of the East India Association at their meeting on July 26 :

“The Council record with great regret the death, on May 27, of their colleague, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, whose advice and willing assistance both in the Council and the meetings of the Association were much valued ; and they desire to express their sincere sympathy with Mrs. Chisholm and his family in their loss.”

A. T. A.

AKBAR : A REPLY

BY VINCENT A. SMITH

THE kind compliments paid by friendly critics of my lecture on Akbar, as published in the last number of this *Review*, deserve my grateful acknowledgments, but the criticisms of my statements of fact admit, for the most part, of effective reply, which I now ask leave to make.

A small point may be noticed first. A veteran Arabic scholar has called my attention to the fact that the *u* in forms like *Abul* is pronounced short, and that the spelling *Abūl*, which I printed in the lecture, is objectionable. The best spelling of the historian's name is Abu-l Fazl, which, accordingly, is used in this article.

When my lecture was being prepared I had not seen the text of Monserrate's important work, which I have recently obtained and studied. The title is : *Mongolice Legationis Commentarius* ; or, *The First Jesuit Mission to Akbar*, by Father Anthony Monserrate, S.J. ; Latin text, edited by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. ; Calcutta, quarto, 1914 ; being Vol. III., No. 9, pp. 518-704, of the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. I desire to draw the particular attention of all students to that invaluable work, deciphered by the editor from the scarcely legible autograph manuscript of the author, and admirably produced. The book is full of new and authentic matter, and, so far as facts go, may be relied on implicitly. The author was charged by his

superiors to write a history of the mission, and fulfilled his task conscientiously, recording his notes each evening for two years and a half. He concludes with the just claim : "Quantum in nobis situm fuit, et narrationis brevitās, ac perspicuitas postulabat : diligenter et acurate [*sic*] (quod sine arrogātia dictum sit) perscripsimus : nostrum pensum (utinam utiliter) exoluisse videmur?" Or—in English : "So far as was in our power, consistently with brevity and clearness of narration, we have written our account, carefully and accurately (if that may be said without presumption) ; and we seem to have accomplished our task—usefully we trust."

Monserate arrived at Fathpur-Sikrī in March, 1580, and returned to Goa in August, 1582. He was tutor to Prince Murād, and accompanied his pupil on the Kābul expedition of 1581.

Page 37. "*Watch by the bedside of the dying monarch.*"

Mr. Beveridge finds fault with the phrase, and erroneously states that I based it on the "spurious memoirs translated by Price." I did not do anything of the kind. I have long known that the text translated by Price is in the main spurious, a mass of lies, which should not be quoted. The book is not in the list of authorities printed at the end of my lecture. The authority which I used was one which is included in that list, viz., van den Broecke's *Fragmentum Historia Indica*, based on a genuine chronicle of that kingdom ("quod è genuino illius Regni Chronico expressum credimus").

The passage is :

"Itaque Rex salute nondum desperata *Xa Selimo* invisenti Tulbantum quidem suum imposuit, cinxitque illum gladio patris sui Hamayonis, sed extra palatium operiri jussit, neque ad se ingredi antequam convalesceret : Obiit autem Rex, etc. (De Laet, 1st issue, p. 213 ; 2nd issue, p. 204). Or, in English : "So the King, while his recovery was still not despaired of, when Shāh Salīm was visiting

him, placed his own turban on the prince's head, and girded him with the sword of Humāyun his own father. But he commanded him to wait outside the palace, and not to come in to see himself until he should regain health. However, the King died, etc."

I accept that statement as being the nearest attainable approach to the truth.

Page 41. *Fīrōz Shāh and the Brahman.*

Mr. Beveridge correctly points out that the story of the Brahman being burned alive by order of Fīrōz Shāh is not in the tract written by that monarch, but in the history by Shams-i-Sirāj. There is, however, no doubt as to the fact, because the historian saw the execution (Elliot and Dowson, iii. 365).

The words "in a Musalman country," which I quoted, occur in the following passage from the Sultan's autobiographical tract (*ibid.*, p. 381):

"Some Hindūs had erected a new idol-temple in the village of Kohāna, and the idolaters used to assemble there and perform their idolatrous rites. These people were seized and brought before me. I ordered that the perverse conduct of the leaders of this wickedness should be publicly proclaimed, and that they should be put to death before the gate of the palace. I also ordered that the infidel books, the idols, and the vessels used in their worship, which had been taken with them, should all be publicly burnt. The others were restrained by threats and punishments, as a warning to all men that no *zimmī* [infidel subject] should follow such wicked practices in a Musalman country."

For my purpose, that incident serves as well as the execution of the Brahman. Writing from recollection, I confused the two occurrences.

Page 42. *Date of Akbar's Birth.*

Mr. Beveridge holds that Jauhar, an old and uneducated man, made a mistake.

Jauhar states that Akbar was born on Thursday, 14 Shabān (eighth month) = November 23, the night of the full moon; and that he himself was present when Humāyūn named the child Badru-ddīn, because he was born on the night of the full moon (*badr*).

In another passage he confirms his date by saying that Akbar was brought to his father near Jūn on the 20th Ramazān (ninth month) on the thirty-fifth day of his age.

Does Mr. Beveridge seriously believe that Jauhar, by reason of senile decay, imagined that there was a full moon, deluded himself into the belief that he had been present at the naming ceremony, and fancied that the child arrived during the Ramazān fast, when he was thirty-five days old?

The theory that senile decay could have such effects is untenable.

Jauhar, not having made a series of inconceivable blunders, must have either lied deliberately or told the truth. Nobody has ever accused him of deliberate lying, and no reason can be suggested why he should have lied. Consequently, he must have told the truth.

These are the main points of the argument in tabloid form. I shall print my essay on the subject in the *Indian Antiquary*.

Page 46. *The Attempt on Akbar's Life in January, 1564.*

Mr. Beveridge says that he is "not aware that Akbar had special reasons, not altogether creditable, for discouraging investigation."

If he reads again the account given by Badāonī of Akbar's scandalous conduct at that time (Lowe, pp. 59-61), he will see that my statement is well founded. The historian relates in detail how Akbar tried to unite himself by marriage with the nobles of Delhi. "*Qawwāls* [marriage brokers] and eunuchs were sent into the harems for the purpose of selecting daughters of the nobles, and of investigating their condition. And a great terror fell upon the city."

Then follows the story of Fātimah, and the author proceeds :

"At this time, when one day the Emperor was walking and came near the Madrasah-e-Bēgam, a slave named Fūlād . . . shot an arrow at him. . . . When the full significance of this incident was made known to the Emperor by supernatural admonition and the miracles of the Pirs of Delhi, he gave up his intention [Lowe notes : ' viz., of marrying any other ladies of Agra and Delhi ']. The Emperor ordered the wretched man to be brought to his deserts at once, although some of the Amīrs wished him to delay a little until the affair should be investigated, with a view to discovering what persons were implicated in the conspiracy."

It seems to me to be clear that the attempt on the life of Akbar was due to the Emperor's dishonourable attacks on the sanctity of family life, and that for that reason investigation was prevented. The scandal is not mentioned by Abu-l Fazl or Nizāmu-ddīn, although both describe the attempt at assassination. Abu-l Fazl, however, states that "H.M. indicated that he should be speedily put to death, lest a number of loyalists should fall under suspicion." Evidently there was a plot, and Akbar had his own reasons for not being too inquisitive. Badāonī's story suggests the nature of the reasons.

Page 50. Mr. Beveridge says : "*There is no evidence that Akbar took opium to excess. He drank wine.*"

My learned critic is mistaken.

Father Monserrate, who was at Akbar's Court for two and a half years, from 1580-1582, and was tutor to Prince Murād, gives a description of the Bābā Kapūr sectarians at Gwalior, who consumed largely the infusion of opium known as *pōst* or *postā*. Akbar was one of the followers of the sect, who were known as "Postini," or opium-drinkers (*Commentarius*, ed. Hosten, p. 558).

Again, the same author says :

" Vinum raro potat. Posti potione, vel aqua sitim depellit, cujus immodico potu, stupefactus sedet, et oscitatur. Or, in English : " He rarely drinks wine. He quenches his thirst by draughts of either water or *pōst*, and when he takes the latter to excess, he sits in a dazed fashion and yawns " (*ibid.*, p. 642).

He also drank heavily on occasions. When Aquaviva tried to address him about things divine, " he would sometimes drop off asleep when the Father had hardly begun, owing to his excessive use of arrack ('orraca'), a heady palm-wine, or of *posto*, a similar confection of opium, diluted and modified by various admixtures of spices " (Bartoli, ed. 1714, p. 62). " On one occasion he tried to subdue his passions by fasting, but then drank so heavily that he lost the merit of abstinence in the demerit of inebriation (ubbriachezza) " (*ibid.*, p. 59).

" At the new year's feasts His Majesty inveigled many of the Ullamā and the pious. nay, even the Qāzīs and Muftis of the realm into the ravine of toast-drinking " (Badāonī tr. Lowe, p. 319).

Other passages from Jahāngir's genuine *Memoirs*, etc., might be cited, but so much must suffice.

Page 54. *Mosques as "places for the basest offices."*

Mr. Beveridge disputes the accuracy of my quotation from Peruschi. That author's words (p. 27 of Rome edition, Luigi Zannetti, 1597) are :

" Ha fatto rovinare tutte le moschee delli suoi paesi, e ne hà fatto stalle, e luoghi di vilissimi essercitii." Or, in English : " He has caused all the mosques in his dominions to be reduced to ruins, and has made of them stables and places for the basest offices."

The quotation is from Peruschi's own text, although, of course, it is based on the letters of Pinheiro, or some of the other missionaries.

The statement refers to the time of the Third Jesuit

Mission about 1595. My remark is absolutely accurate. It would take too much space to go into details of the impish tricks which Akbar played at that period, with the deliberate intention of insulting Muhammadans.

The evidence is slurred over by critics like Mr. Yusuf Ali, who insists that Akbar was merely a "reformer in Islam." He had been so in his time, but was not after 1582, when he got a free hand by his triumphant return from Kābul. It is impossible to enter on the discussion of such topics in a brief note. My presentation of Akbar's attitude towards Islam, as given in my lecture, is, I believe, perfectly correct, it being understood that it is impossible to offer full explanations in a short discourse addressed to a general audience.

Page 59-61. *The Chairman's remarks.*

I cannot find any authority for the belief that Sultan Raziyyatu-ddīn (Raziya) anticipated in any way the ideas of Akbar, or showed any special favour to Hindus. The leading contemporary authority, Minhāj-i-Sirāj, gives no support to such a notion.

I am, of course, well aware of Akbar's interest in Mahdist hopes, but there was no time to mention that topic, or many others.

The institution of the Mina Bazaar, or Ladies Fancy Fair, is hardly one to be mentioned with approval. See Tod's remarks in chapter xi. of the *Annals of Mewar* concerning the dishonour done to Rājput women on such occasions. I cannot agree that Akbar was "most liberal in his views with regard to the liberty of women."

Pages 61, 62, 65-68. *Mr. Yusuf Ali's remarks.*

I do not know of any ground for believing that Shēr Shāh anticipated Akbar's policy of religious toleration. On the contrary, he broke his oath to Pūran Mall of Rāisin, murdered him, and treated even his women and children with savage cruelty (*Tārīkh-i Shēr Shāhi*, in Elliot and

Dowson, iv. 403). Again (*ibid.*, p. 404), he assembled his chiefs to "cleanse the country from the existing contamination of unbelievers," and so on. Akbar imitated some of his administrative measures, but that is a totally different matter.

I do not plead guilty to laying undue emphasis on the views of the Jesuit missionaries. It is true that their personal descriptions of Akbar are infinitely the best in existence. Since I lectured, the edition of Father Monserrate's *Mongolica Legationis Commentarius* (ed. Hosten, Calcutta, 1914) has become known to me. That wonderful book adds much to our knowledge, but at present it is accessible in the Latin text only.

The theory that Akbar continued to the end to be merely a "Reformer in Islam," the founder of a new Muslim sect, is opposed to a mass of evidence. He was an ardent Muslim in his youth, but after 1579 probably, and after 1582 certainly, he ceased to have the slightest respect for either the Prophet or the Koran. It is not true that he merely ceased to practice Musalman ceremonial. As a matter of fact, he did practise it occasionally, from deliberate hypocrisy, for political reasons. I can give full proof of that statement, but not on this occasion. Mr. Yusuf Ali's rendering of the dictum in the "Happy Sayings" is correct, although Colonel Jarrett's looser version, which I quoted, gives the sense substantially. When Akbar said that a man who is not a Muslim should not force others into Islām, he referred to himself.

His new religion was *not* a sect of Muhammadanism. On the contrary, it was opposed to and inconsistent with the religion of the Prophet, as Badāonī brings out clearly in the following passage :

"Mirzā Jānī, Governor of Tattah, and other apostates, wrote their confession to the following effect—this is the form : ' I, who am So-and-so, son of So-and-so, do voluntarily, and with sincere predilection and inclination, utterly and entirely renounce and repudiate the religion of Islām,

which I have seen and heard of my fathers, and do embrace the "Divine Religion" of Akbar Shāh, and do accept the four grades of entire devotion—viz., sacrifice of Property, Life, Honour, and Religion" (Lowe, p. 314).

There is much other evidence, but I have room for only one more quotation. Monserrate reports a conversation which he held with Akbar in 1582, when the Emperor said: "Ad hæc se non esse Agarenum, professus est, nec Mahammedis symbolo, quicquam tribuere"; that is, "He added that he was not a Muslim [child of Hagar], nor did he pay any regard to the Muhammadan formula" [*scil.* the *Kalimah*, p. 630] (*Commentarius*, p. 628).

Page 69. *Mr. Beveridge's concluding remark.*

It is hardly necessary to observe that the unpleasant subject alluded to is not suitable for discussion in a public lecture to an audience including ladies.

While it is true that in one or two recorded instances Akbar indicated disapproval of disgusting forms of vice, it is also true that in 1580 the courageous Jesuits dared to reprove him for his laxity in failing to preserve decency at his capital. I quote the passage in the original Latin:

"Occurrit aliquando illis grex quidam nebulonum catamitorum, ex eorum contubernio, qui se ut fœminæ comunt, et ornant. Quare, ut par est, vehementer offensi, ut primum nacti sunt copiam, Regem summa cum autoritate, quoniam causa illis, favebat privatim increparunt. 'Mirari se, quod id hominum genus, in suo regno, nedum in sua civitate, ac pene in oculis, agere permetteret' etc. . . . Arrisit quidem Rex Sacerdotibus, ad hoc verbum, et se, curæ rem habiturum recepit" (Monserrate, *Commentarius*, ed. Hosten, p. 574).

“WAR POEMS” AND “SUBJECTS OF THE
DAY” BY LORD CURZON*

BY J. POLLEN

“DIVINELY well” were the adverbs used by Tennyson to describe the work done by Edward Fitzgerald in giving the Western world his version of Omar Khayyam’s eastern lay, and the same adverbs may be applied with even greater force and fitness to the work done by Lord Curzon in these vigorous and accurate translations from Belgian and other sources. His Lordship has proved that it is possible to combine poetic fire with fidelity to the original and to translate the songs of one country into the language and metre of another without the loss of a single thought, and without resorting to the artful aid of paraphrase. Incidentally, Lord Curzon has shown us what he himself can do as an original composer, and the dedicatory lines to “Belgium,” and the poem “In the Afghan War,” prove that he “might have won the Poet’s name and gained a laurel for his brow” even apart from his merits as a Translator of poetry.

For it must be admitted that few tributes could be finer,

* “War Poems and Other Translations,” by Lord Curzon of Kedleston. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head. New York: John Lane Company. MCMXV.

“Subjects of the Day,” by Earl Curzon of Kedleston, edited by Desmond M. Chapman-Huston. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Ruskin House, 40, Museum Street, W.C.

than the one paid to Belgium in the lines with which the volume opens :

"Yet she is Queen, by every royal token,
There where the storm of desolation swirled ;
Crowned only with the thorn, despoiled and broken,
Her kingdom is the heart of all the world."

And in "*The Myth of Er*," and "*The Vision of Mirzah*," Lord Curzon shows how skilfully he can raise prose to poetry. No doubt he, too, has felt, as other translators have felt, that there is often a charm in the words of the original that no words in another language can possibly give or convey, but it cannot be denied that his translations come as near to the melody and exact significance of the original as it is possible to get, and he has been singularly successful in subordinating himself to the conception and thought, and even to the mannerism, of the original writer. He has been particularly skilful in thus dealing with translations from modern languages, but, in his translations from the classics also, he has contrived to convey with fidelity the melody of the original, and he has again shown great grace in turning English into Latin. An ancient Roman would probably have fully appreciated his admirable renderings of "*The Two Voices*," "*Lucy*," and "*The Progress of Poesy*." Nothing, too, could be happier than his translation of the epitaph on the Spartans who fell at Thermopylæ—viz. :

"Stranger, go hence and say to the men who hold Lacedæmon,
'Here far away we lie, proudly obeying her word.'"

And the translation of the epitaph on those who fell at the Battle of Chæronea may be described as equally felicitous.

The little volume before us has been issued in aid of "*The Soldier's Pipe*," in order to help the Belgians, and M. Verhaeran and M. Cammaerts cannot fail to feel gratified by the splendid swing with which their war songs have been rendered into English. Perhaps the most touching amongst the songs thus rendered is "*L'Aveugle et son fils*,"

which celebrates the reception of a blind Belgian refugee and his son by England :

"Bend down upon thy knees, my son,
And take into thy hand,
Thy wounded hand, and mine somewhat
Of the earth of this good land,
That, dreaming of our home, we two
May kiss the soil of England "

In translating epitaphs and epigrams Lord Curzon displays much judgment in the lightness of his touch, and the epitaph—

"Colley fell ill, and is no more ;
His fate you bid me to deplore.
But what the deuce is to be said ?
Colley was living—Colley's dead "

—recalls the line on the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales :

"But as it's only Fred
Who was alive and is dead,
There's nothing more to be said."

Turning from these translations to Lord Curzon's "Spoken Word," and "In Memoriam" articles, one opens almost instinctively on the graceful tribute he pays to Lord Tennyson's memory in the speech delivered at the meeting of the British Academy in October, 1909. Tennyson, he says, "knew nature as almost no poet, except Wordsworth, has known it."

"To know the heart of all things was his duty,"

and thus he became the poet of all classes. He knew all, he felt for all, and he sang for all ; and Lord Curzon is undoubtedly right in insisting that in his lyrics Tennyson appeals to the souls of all men. Like the sweet Singer of Israel, Tennyson strikes responsive chords and wakes an echo in all human hearts.

It is deeply interesting to learn from Lord Curzon that Lord Tennyson considered the lines—

"Myriads of rivulets hurrying thro' the lawn,
The moan of doves in immemorial elms,
And murmuring of innumerable bees,"

as the three most beautiful lines that he had ever written, and they certainly are amongst the most beautiful lines in the English language. But whatever the difference of opinion may be with regard to this or to the merits of the Laureate's minor poems, it will be agreed that Lord Curzon is right in maintaining that Tennyson "has made an imperishable name in our literature, and will always remain one of the glories of our race."

Lord Curzon's appreciations of the lives and characters of his friends, George Wyndham, Alfred Lyttelton, and William Anson, are beautifully written, and constitute the most touching of elegies and eulogies on departed human worth. They must make Englishmen everywhere feel proud to think that they were fellow-countrymen and contemporaries of such splendid sons of the English race; and in the same way the tribute to Lord Roberts and to Captain Scott and his Comrades must have a rousing effect on Britons and Hibernians everywhere. The eloquent vindication of the character of Clive (with its generous reference to "the self-effacement, absolute integrity and devotion to duty of the Indian Civil Service"), and the moving address to the Veterans of the Mutiny, with its hearty recognition of "the equal gallantry and constancy of the Indian troops who fought side by side with their British comrades in the trenches, and died in the same ditch" (just as they are now doing in France, the Dardanelles, Mesopotamia, and Africa) ring like trumpet-calls. Indeed, it is impossible to turn to any part of these speeches without being impressed by the noble eloquence with which Lord Curzon strives to urge his fellow-subjects to work together not only for the benefit of their own Country, but for the good of the Empire and of Human-kind; and as to the motives which move him to these utterances, no fair-minded critic can have any doubt whatever. A sincere Patriot, loving his land with a love "far brought from out the storied Past," he is proud of her Present and jealous for her Future. He declares that "the real cement of Empire is brotherhood, and the real basis of

brotherhood is mutual understanding," (this is the creed of Esperantists), and he insists that "the interests of a subject dependency or possession should never be sacrificed to exclusively British interests." This was the principle on which he always acted in India. No one knew better than he did that our great Dependency was not held by the Sword, but by something nobler and higher; and he always insisted on fair play for India and the Indians. In the first great speech that he made when he landed at Bombay he declared that "To hold the scales even" would be a good Motto for a Governor-General, and he submitted that under the special conditions existing in India, "the task was one that called for supple fingers and nerves of steel." He certainly strove as Governor-General "to hold the scales even," and that he succeeded in doing so, in spite of calumnies, is now recognized by all thoughtful men throughout the Indian and Anglo-Indian Communities. He did his best to bring about harmonious co-ordination of the interests of the whole, and there was never anything mean or ignoble in his vigorous and vivifying Imperialism.

It has been said that Lord Curzon did not get on well with the native population; but this is not so, and he himself tells us that he had nothing but the most friendly recollections of them, and that from the Indian people he never received anything but kindness; while with their intellectual and other Chiefs and with many of their "leading spirits" he was on the most friendly terms.

It is true, fluent Orators and flaming Youths sometimes denounced the measures of his Government, and certain remarks about veracity which he thought fit to make as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, and his stand-off attitude towards the National Indian Congress gave local offence and were resented. But the evenness with which he held the scales has come to be acknowledged by his Critics, and it is agreed on all sides that the only thing Lord Curzon really aimed at throughout his Viceroyalty was "the good of India." He was profoundly right in the

matter over which he resigned the Governor-Generalship, and all fair-minded men must admit that the welfare of India was the sole object he had in view in the attitude he assumed on the occasion of his dispute with Lord Kitchener.

"He nothing petty did nor mean
Upon that memorable scene."

He himself has told us, in his oration at the Mansion House, when speaking on Oriental study, how much he regretted he had not learnt the International language of India—Hindustani—which would have enabled him to converse more freely with the Native Chiefs, the Indian people, and the Indian soldiery. It is quite possible if he had learnt Hindustani he would have been even more popular than he was, for an earnest Viceroy often suffers from Interpreters, and alas ! but few secretariat officials speak the vernacular intelligibly nowadays !

In his speech at Harrow on the "Great War," Lord Curzon clearly sets forth the causes leading up to the present catastrophe, and shows that we are fighting not only for our Honour but for our Life against a ruthless and a barbarous enemy who had perpetrated "the greatest crime in history"—the devastation of Belgium. Lord Curzon closed this speech by impressing on his audience certain "Don'ts," and it seems to us that some of these "Don'ts" should receive greater currency and should be more strongly pressed on the attention of all. We should therefore like to repeat some of them over and over again, such as—

Don't think that the War does not affect us individually. It touches every one of us ; it touches every man, woman and child in the country.

Don't get nervous because the progress of the War is slow.

Don't believe all you read in the newspapers.

Don't underrate the enemy.

Don't begin to divide the German Empire before you have got hold of it.

When the War is over don't throw away its lessons.

It will be time enough to discuss terms of peace when peace can be obtained with honour ; but it is premature, it is impertinent, to talk about terms of peace now.

Lord Curzon has done a great public service in allowing these speeches to be collected and published, and the more people read them the better it will be for the country. Those referring to India should be read and re-read in India, and the great Truths Lord Curzon tells about the nature of our Empire and the real origin of this iniquitous War should be made known far and wide throughout the civilized world.

SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

THE FAR EAST

1. A GERMAN SCHOLAR IN THE EAST. By H Hackmann Translated by Daisie Rommel. (*Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.*)
- 2 THE EAST I KNOW. By Paul Claudel Translated by Teresa Frances and William Rose Benét (*Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.*)

TWO books have come to me for review, both on the Far East, both interesting and illuminating, but each utterly different from the other in the treatment and conception of the subject. The one, "A German Scholar in the East," is the deliberated and measured record of the travels of a scientific man. He has put down incidents as they occurred—facts as he saw them, untinted by any imagination or idealism—almost with the scrupulous exactitude and precision of a guidebook. It is true that the author styles his book "*Travels and Reflections*," but the latter are more reflections on the surface than deep penetrations of thought. The other book, "The East I Know," by Paul Claudel, has gone to the other extreme. Reality has very little place in his book; it is all poetry, imagination, idealism. Claudel has painted beautiful dream pictures of what is in his own soul, and set these pictures in the framework of the Far East. Each book will appeal to a certain section of people, but if the materialist reads the one by Claudel, or the idealist the other, each will be floundering in unknown waters.—L. SINGH.

INDIA

3. CEYLON · THE PORTUGUESE ERA (1505-1658). By P. E. Pieris, M.A., etc. Two vols. 8vo., pp. xxvi + 590; viii + 628. With plates and maps. (London: *Simpkin, Marshall.*) Price 25s. net.

It is now twenty years since Danvers' work on the Portuguese in India made its bow before the public; the present book deals with the Portu-

guese influence in Ceylon during 153 years with infinitely more detail than Danvers, and, moreover, the main source of information used by the author is an unpublished history of the "Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceylão," etc., written by Padre Fernão de Queyros, S.J., in 1687. This manuscript of over 1,000 pages was written with a view to bring home to the Portuguese a sense of their loss in relinquishing the rule of India, and to induce them to attempt to conquer again if not India, at any rate Ceylon. The learned Jesuit appears to have consulted every source of information then available, and judging from the copious notes in Mr. Pieris' work, his accuracy has stood the test of critical study. The present book is primarily a historical study, hence wars, battles, and their accompaniments loom large in it, doughty fights in which the bare-bodied Sinhalese fought at terrible odds the armour-clad invader. The author's sturdy descriptions are interspersed with translations from war poems, and he has wisely given a large place to the institutions, customs, trade, laws, and sociology of the period. Further, 280 pages are devoted to explanatory notes and commentaries, which constitute in themselves an enormous amount of labour, and which one would have welcomed at the bottom of the pages to which they refer, had not typographical difficulties been doubtless the cause of their relegation at the end of each volume. Short as was the Portuguese hold upon Ceylon, it was long enough for the officials and the friars to prey upon the population like hungry locusts; at a time there were more friars than soldiers in Ceylon, and Portuguese barges rotted at anchor for lack of sailors, whilst the priests squeezed the natives. The immorality and cruelty of the Portuguese was almost equalled by that of the Hollanders who ousted them from Colombo. The author has refrained from giving in a concluding chapter an expression of opinion respecting the result of Portuguese rule. His book ends on a note of irony, but in his dedication of the book he hopes that a fuller knowledge of the sufferings of Ceylon will bring her sons to appreciate more fully the infinite blessing which the *Pax Britannica* has conferred on them. The book is well illustrated with interesting and out-of-the-way reproductions; its index has been tested and found an adequate and valuable feature.—K.

4. A HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE (1600-1913). By Lieutenant-Colonel D. G. Crawford. Two vols. Large 8vo., pp. xiv + 529; vi + 535. With 4 plates. (*Thacker and Co.*)

This handsomely produced book bears on every page the characteristics of a work of love in its encyclopædic scope, and in the thoroughness with which the subject is worked out. The author tells us that in 1884 his interest was aroused in the history of the Indian Medical Service by a small article in an old copy of the *Calcutta Review* dealing with a list of medical men in the Indian Army up to 1838; he set himself the task to bring that list up to date, and was led into so many side issues that a manuscript grew apace which, instead of being a preface to a completed list, developed into several articles, and finally into the two volumes now before us. Dry as the subject might appear, one can hardly begin reading

the learned pages of Colonel Crawford and lay the book aside, except when lists of names and reprints of regulations occur; the early historical portions in particular are as fascinating as they are thorough. Here and there details of historical interest, apart from their connection with the medical service, attract the eye. Out-of-the-way information hides in many places—for instance, the heroic use of sulphuric acid as an internal remedy by Dover, of powder fame, and the wonderful recovery of C. B. Chalmers from the extensive attentions of a buffalo, worthy of a place in a new edition of *Curiosities of Medicine*. Again, the La Forge attempt at mutiny follows hard upon a most interesting account of Esdaile's experiments on mesmeric anæsthesia, the importance of which is best realized when one remembers that hypnotic suggestion has been used in surgical operations in the present war, probably quite as painful as the resections of the elephantiasis of the scrotum mentioned here. How great has been the work of the Indian Medical Service outside the immediate scope of the profession can be gauged by reading through chapters xxviii. to xxxii., and also chapter xl. Natural science, of course, comes to the front, but politics, literature, philology, art, etc., loom large amongst the extra-professional vocations or hobbies of the I.M.S. Extensive quotations, literatim reprints of official documents, schedules, etc., add to the documentary value of the book. Indeed, one can only wonder at the painstaking industry and exhaustive thoroughness of the author. Need we add that only one misprint caught our eye: *obstretic* on p. 381. An extensive index makes reference easy to all names and important points.—K.

5. *BENGAL IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY*; Being Eight Lectures delivered before the University of Calcutta. By J. N. Das Gupta. Large 8vo., pp. 189. (*Published by the University, 1914*)

Interesting book, but unfortunately lacking an index, which would have made it useful for reference. It embraces The study of history and renaissance in Bengal, Mukundram and Bengal in the sixteenth century; European travellers in Bengal in the sixteenth century; and sociological study of Bengal during the same period. Devotees of the Lady Nicotine will find a lengthy quotation relating to the introduction of tobacco, and the description of the long pipe in which it was offered to Akbar.

6. *RAMBLÉS AND RECOLLECTIONS OF AN INDIAN OFFICIAL*. By Major-General Sleeman. Revised annotated edition by Professor Vincent A. Smith. 8vo., pp. xxvii + iii + 667. With portrait and a map. (London: *H. Milford [the Oxford University Press]*). Price 6s. net.

This new and remarkably cheap edition in a handy form of Sleeman's work will be welcome because both the original and Professor Smith's edition of 1893 are very scarce, and, moreover, because its size makes it pleasant to handle. The author covers such a wide range of subjects in a chatty manner that his book will commend itself to the average reader (whom the editor describes as a "nondescript person" (!). The average

reader is often omnivorous but none the less critical, and he will be thankful to the editor for the wealth of notes and the accuracy of the index, but he may wonder why, on p. 311, note 2 should read: "Better known as Mauritius." Speaking with due deference, we incline to think that the Isle de France referred to by the author is just the old French province around Paris, where mushrooms are grown as an article of trade.—J.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

7. REVIEW OF THE TRADE OF INDIA, 1913-14; MORAL AND MATERIAL PROGRESS AND CONDITION OF INDIA, 1913-14.

The year under consideration in these Blue-books has not been, on the whole, favourable to an expansion in the trade of India. The failure of the monsoon, banking crises, a glut in the piece-goods trade, shortage of railway trucks in industrial centres—these were some of the setbacks with which the Government and people of India had to cope. Of these, the first was the most serious. The trading power of India is so dependent on the success of the crops—as is necessarily the case in all agricultural countries—that the shortage of rain in the United Provinces and Central India on the one hand, and its excess in parts of Bengal and Madras, sensibly diminished not only the volume of exportable produce, but also the means to purchase imports. In the matter of the banking crisis in Northern and Western India, the Government and the Presidency banks came to timely assistance. The glut in the piece-goods trade was due to the recent financial troubles, and the consequent slow consumption of existing stocks. The shortage in the supply of railway trucks was immediately taken in hand.

However, if these adverse factors, together with the renewed outbreak of war in the Balkans, is borne in mind, it is truly wonderful that a fairly prosperous year can be recorded. Thus the export of raw materials has gone up 18 per cent, while the importation of manufactured articles has increased to exactly the same extent. Among the latter cotton manufacturers have increased most, and testify to the greater purchasing power of the Indians. It is interesting to note that there has been a further increase in the imports of sugar. Under this head 90 per cent. is cane sugar, coming chiefly from the Dutch colonies, and 10 per cent. is beet sugar from Austria, Germany, Belgium, and the United Kingdom. These facts argue eloquently for an increase in the sugar cultivation in India, which has been repeatedly advocated in the *Asiatic Review*.

There has been an average rise of about 2 per cent. in the prices of commodities: an increase in pulses, textiles, and jute; a decrease in cereals and sugar. On the other hand, the rise in wages has been on the average 3 per cent., being as high as 9 per cent. in the woollen mills and cotton factories.

Taking now separately the various countries with which India trades, we find that the position of the United Kingdom is unrivalled, and that

there has again been an increase of over £10,000,000 in the imports, and a decrease in the exports of about two millions. The value of imports from Germany has also increased, and chiefly consist of cotton manufactures, metals, and dyes. The demands for cheap and inferior iron and steel have been chiefly met by that country and Belgium. The balance of exports over imports was, however, heavily in India's favour (£15,459,000, as against £5,020,000). A similar balance can be recorded in her trade with France (£7,374,000, as against £866,000). There has been a heavy fall in the imports from the United States of America and Russia. Japan and Java are two quarters where India imports more than she exports—in the latter instance as much as £7,096,000 of sugar. The foreign trade passing through the ports has in the last decade nearly doubled, and has fallen chiefly to Calcutta, Bombay, and Karachi.

In the statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India we find in the vital statistics a decrease from 29·7 in 1912 to 28·7 in 1913 per thousand in the number of deaths, and an increase from 38·95 to 39·3 in the birth-rate. The fall in the death-rate in Coorg (64·1 to 47·6 urban and 36·8 to 32·6 rural) is especially noteworthy. A general decline in cholera and malaria is reported in Bombay and the Central Provinces. The number of deaths from fevers has decreased in the two years 1913 to 1911 by 224,244, and in cholera by 59,190, though there has been an increase of 39,517 in small-pox mortality. The plague statistics show that there has been an increase of (on the preliminary figures) 77,928 in 1914 over the preceding year. This is chiefly explained by a recrudescence of the disease in Bengal. As is well known, general statistics under this heading are somewhat misleading, but many parts of India are now almost free. The evacuation of quarters in which plague is prevalent has proved a very effective measure; and where necessary Government is ready to supply money and material to provide temporary dwellings elsewhere.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Central Research Fund instituted in 1911 had in 1914 received grants amounting to £100,000, and had sanctioned an expenditure of £93,000 on researches into kalamazar, cholera, yellow fever, anti-malarial measures, etc. These activities are recorded in the quarterly entitled, *Indian Journal of Medical Research*. At the Central Research Institute, Kasauli, a new teaching laboratory for the bacteriological class and suitable accommodation for the malaria section have been provided. The Plague Research Commission, which has its headquarters at Bombay, besides its output of anti-plague vaccine, also conducts inquiries into guinea-worm, tuberculosis, etc. Besides the Pasteur institutes for anti-rabic treatment at Kasauli and Coonoor, the establishment of a third at Rangoon has been sanctioned.

The Archæological Department reports that in the North-West Frontier Province excavations are in progress at Taxila, near Rawalpindi, where there are the sites of those successive capitals, dating from Alexander the Great to A.D. 300. The temple of Sandial has been totally cleared. In Patna the excavation of the ancient Mauryan capital of Pataliputri revealed most interesting resemblances to the buildings of Persepolis. In Burma

excavations were carried out at Pegu and Yathemyo, and a considerable number of Talaing inscriptions were discovered.

THE NEAR EAST

8. WAR AND DIPLOMACY IN THE BALKANS. By H. Charles Woods. (London: *The "Field" and "Queen," Ltd.*) 6d. net.

This little handbook, as the foreword explains, has been compiled to explain in an easily accessible form various aspects of the present situation in the Balkan Peninsula. He points out that the consequences of the two Balkan wars are largely responsible for the present situation there, which is therefore not by any means exclusively influenced by the general conditions prevailing in Europe. The contents are divided into the History and Diplomacy and the Forces of the Balkan States, one chapter being devoted to each. He begins with Bulgaria, and explains that the key to the whole Balkan crux is that "the Bulgarian Government cannot well throw in its lot with any side or countries which do not agree to some form of compensation for the way in which Bulgaria was treated immediately prior to and after the second Balkan War. . . . Thus, if we are to secure the co-operation of Bulgaria, and if the hands of Roumania and of Greece are thereby to be freed, it is necessary that the Government of King Ferdinand should be compensated or receive those advantages, or promises of advantages, which alone will persuade it to go to war." We owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Mr. Woods for the candour and clearness with which he has outlined the situation. It is, however, rather depressing to read later on in the same chapter that no Balkan statesman, be he Roumanian, Greek, Serbian or Bulgarian, can or will make sacrifices, however advantageous to his country, until he finds himself compelled to do so. We must, however, bear in mind that the future of the Balkan States is directly dependent on the success of the Allies, as, otherwise, they cannot well escape coming into the sphere of Austro-German diplomacy. It is well, therefore, that they should settle their quarrels while they are still on the way.

CURRENT PERIODICALS

The July issue of the MODERN REVIEW contains a striking frontispiece in colours by Sailendranath De, representing "Sindhu carrying his blind parents to the river for bathing"; an appreciation of the poetry of Francis Thompson, by Prof. V. Saranathan; and an illustrated account of Gulbarga, the capital of the Bahmani Kings, where rest the remains of the famous Saint Muhammad Geeso Diraz, which attracts great crowds of pilgrims every year. There follows a brief history of Gulbarga previous to the removal of the capital to Bidar, which is very interesting reading.

In its Editorial Notes THE INDIAN EMIGRANT draws attention to the work undertaken by the various Local Governments with a view to "encouraging Indian industries." Especial reference is made to the oil-pressing

industry, concerning which, it is declared, "there is nothing to prevent it ultimately being transferred bodily to India, and the present opportunity offers a unique chance for this first step." It pleads that work initiated by the Government on the lines of gradual expansion "must be a model one based on efficiency and worked on a pure commercial spirit." Such an example by the Government is sure to lead the way for private enterprises. Attention is drawn to the large quantity of adulterants, exceeding 2,000,000 gallons, imported from Germany.

THE MYSORE ECONOMIC JOURNAL, in its issue of February, 1915, publishes an article by Dr. F. Marsden, Tinctorial Expert, Madras, on "The Problem of the British Dye-Stuff Manufacture." The larger portion of the world's textile trade, he says, is threatened with strangulation through inability to obtain the necessary colouring materials consequent on the isolation of Germany. Large numbers of the population are affected in some countries, and the question has arisen as to how relief might be secured. As to the position in England, we read.

"The English colour industry has in the past cried out for protection against German imports, but, conducted as it has been up to now, it offered no guarantees that it would be able to supply the demands for modern dye-stuffs, and interference with the supply of these would mean a disaster to the textile industry far outweighing any advantage which might accrue to the colour works. No one can shut his eyes, however, to the fact that the German works are in a practically impregnable position, and, as has been recognized in America, it would be futile to think of private enterprise successfully initiating at the present moment any scheme not foredoomed to failure.

"Lord Moulton therefore proposes that Government, manufacturers and users should co-operate and build up a dye-making industry strong enough to hold its own under any circumstances which may arise in the future. It is not a scheme to assist the colour makers, as many people seem to think, but is a proposal to safeguard the far more important textile industries of the country, and the interests which are affected and the competition which will have to be met are of such a nature that not only a large capital, but the highest possible business capacity will be required. Technical skill for the construction of plant and control of processes is abundant. Capital will readily be forthcoming if there is an adequate prospect of return and the dividends of the German firms have been such as to show that there need be no fear upon this head if the concern is properly managed."

The July number of ARARAT contains a most interesting historical sketch, by G. Thoumaian, of the migrations of the Armenians to Galicia and the Crimea. "Probably few people," he writes, "are aware that Lemberg is an important Armenian centre, or appreciate that Galicia, Bohemia, and Transylvania, where the Russians and Austrians are fighting, were once important Armenian settlements, having Lemberg as their metropolis, and that at the present day Lemberg is the venerated seat of an Armenian Archbishopric. The Armenians settled in those countries

were numerous and influential enough to have established an Armenian State in Europe, similar to the one founded in Galicia, but their ignorance of the country and of Western customs, as well as their attachment to their Fatherland, Armenia, prevented them from so doing. One should therefore impress on the minds of Armenians, as well as on those of Europeans, that Armenians are living and suffering not only in the Caucasus war zone, but in the Eastern portion of Europe as well—namely, in Galicia, Bohemia, and Transylvania, where there have been considerable Armenian settlements and towns."

The INDIAN REVIEW for June, 1915, in the course of "Reflections on the War," by the Hon. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, C.I.E., M.A., LL.D., Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, states: "There is another prevailing misapprehension. Sometimes one hears of the ancient wisdom of this country as the parent of German idealism. The claim may be partly true, but only in form, and not in substance. It is a matter of history that some of the Upanishads, translated into Persian by Dara Shikoh, fell into the hands of a wandering French scholar, Auquental Duperron, who rendered them into French. Schopenhaur drew his inspiration from Duperron's French translation of Dara Shikoh's Persian version. They sought Eastern lore and wisdom to assuage burning thirst. But they chose not the pure and undefiled fountain-head, but preferred turbid streams turned Westward by amiable but *unentitled* dilettantes. The stream of German idealism rising from such a source may not inaptly be said to have ended with Hegel, and such may be the historical establishment of the paternity. But there are moral qualifications without which study of the books of wisdom is worse than useless—nay, positively injurious. Under colour of 'biological necessity' and for undoing 'historical wrong,' whatever that may signify, poisoning of wells, petrol shells, obnoxious gases, and abounding lies, are but the least of equipments for the overthrow of civilization and the established order of things."

BOOKS RECEIVED

INDIA—"A Short History of the Sikhs." Nelson; 1 rupee 8 annas.—"The Poems of Mu'tamid" ("Wisdom of the East" Series). John Murray; 1s. net—"The Arya Samaj." Longmans and Co.; 5s. net.—"The Heart of Jainism," by Mrs Sinclair Stevenson, M.A., Sc.D. Dublin. Oxford University Press; 7s. 6d. net.—"Indian Theism," by Nicol Macnicol, M.A., D.LITT. Oxford University Press; 6s. net—"Extracts from the Holy Quran." Compiled and published by Abdullah Allahadin, Secunderabad—Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the Year ending March 31, 1914. Punjab Government.—"History of Bengali Language and Literature," by Dinesh Chandra Sen. University of Calcutta.

THE NEAR EAST—"An Englishman's Recollections of Egypt," by Baron de Kusel (Bey). John Lane

MISCELLANEOUS—"A Defence of Aristocracy," by A. M. Ludovici. Constable and Co.; 10s. 6d. net.—"A Far Country," by Winston Churchill. Macmillan.—"Maria Again," by Mrs. John Lane. John Lane, The Bodley Head; 3s. 6d.

LAC AND LACQUER

BY H. L. JOLY

It is passing strange that slipshod descriptions should be used in the realm of technology, stranger still that they should be countenanced by craftsmen and experts who should know better. Two examples of inaccurate terminology creep up almost every day: one is the use of the word "Jade" to cover Jadeite and Jade proper, the other is the indiscriminate use of "Lacquer" as a description for Chinese or Japanese lacquer ware (*makiye*), for shell-lac ware, *thitsi* and *pagan* work, and for varieties of European shellac work. In the first case, mineralogists have condoned the misuse of the word Jade because accurate discrimination between Jade and Jadeite requires an optical or chemical analysis, or the measurement of specific gravity, not always easy owing to the size of the specimens which some collectors treasure, and finally because Jade and Jadeite are commonly intermixed in the stones carved in China, in India, and, let it be whispered, in Germany. That does not, however, excuse certain glaring mistakes which crept in a recent English essay on the subject.

With lac and lacquer, however, the use of inaccurate descriptions should be avoided. No chemical analysis is needed, a practised eye cannot be easily deceived, and the unwary can be taught if they wish.

To some readers this may seem an unnecessary note,

and indeed I was only prompted to write it because, in less than ten days, I found on three separate occasions that an elementary knowledge of this subject was lacking where one would expect it to be conspicuously displayed : A meeting of craftsmen, an art exhibition, where art appeared somewhat subservient to age and material, and where a well-meaning but inexpert guide imparted misinformation to eager ladies, and finally a museum lecturette, in which Japanese lacquer and European shell-lac technique were differentiated "by the outlines of the gold designs."

It is probably idle to hope that a terminology originating in the eighteenth century will be discarded for a more accurate one, but it would not be too much to ask that, if the word lacquer is retained universally it should be in every case qualified, using the adjectives Japanese, Chinese, Indian, Burmese, English, French, as the case may be, provided that the nature of the materials and the technique postulated by the use of those adjectives are generally understood.

First let us turn to Indian *lac* work, probably known in Europe long before Chinese or Japanese lacquer wares. A tiny insect settles on soft-wooded trees, chiefly of the leguminous family (such as the *Acacia arabica*) ; the females perforate the bark, feed on the sap, and after impregnation by travelling males die, larvæ issue from their dead bodies, and settle on the twigs. After a while most of them die, and become covered by a resinous secretion from which a red dye can be extracted by washing, leaving the stick-lac, a material which by adequate treatment can be turned into shell-lac, button-lac, seed-lac, etc. It is this finished material which forms the basis of Indian lacquer, of Burmese Thitsi and Pagan wares ; in India it takes the place of common paint, it is used as a cement, and indeed, it is put to almost as many uses as lacquer is in Japan.

Lacquer, as understood in China and in Japan under the respective names *shee* and *urushi*, is not the result of the action of an insect upon the sap of the tree ; it is the latex

taken from the lacquer tree itself, tapped much in the same way as other trees are tapped for the extraction of gum arabic, resin, gutta, or India rubber. This juice—*urushi*—is a milky latex which loses a large amount of moisture by exposure to sunlight, or by gentle evaporation; it becomes then a brown, oily fluid, with a pungent, nauseous smell. Its chemical constitution has been investigated by several chemists. Korscheldt and Yoshida, in 1883, found in it a brown liquid which they described as urushic acid ($C_{14}H_{18}O_2$), capable of becoming oxidized into $C_{14}H_{16}O_3$ when drying under certain conditions, besides gum arabic, enzymic, nitrogenous substances, and water. Their theory was partly upset by Tschirch and Stevens in 1905, when they suggested the intricate empirical formula $C_{102}H_{138}N_2O_{10}$ for a resin—*urushin*. Finally, Dr. K. Miyama, after a thorough study of pure, raw *Ki-urushi* from Yamato, proposed the formula $C_{31}H_{50}O_4$ for the principal constituent of Japanese lacquer, which he has called *Urushiol*. The composition of *urushi* varies according to the period of the year and the locality of origin, e.g. :

	Moisture.	Urushiol.*	Gum.	Nitrogenous Matter.
<i>Sakari urushi</i> —				
Collected from mid-July to end of August	17.81	77.63	2.62	1.94
<i>Seshimé urushi</i> —				
From branches in November ...	27.62	64.14	6.46	1.78
Average Chinese	30.74	55.88	11.78	1.60

* Up to 94.5 per cent. after extraction of moisture

Now, whereas shellac can be used molten or semi-fluid, and its solution in alcohol dries easily, *urushi* dries satisfactorily into a thin, hard layer insoluble in alcohol, and resisting the action of many reagents and solvents, only in presence of moisture, when nitrogenous matter is left in it, and when the temperature does not exceed 30° C. If, however, the temperature is raised beyond 100° C., drying can be rapidly induced independently of nitrogenous matter

or moisture. In the first case 5.75 per cent., and in the latter case 7.07 per cent. of oxygen are absorbed.

The processes used in the manufacture of Japanese and Chinese lacquer wares were always carried out at the ordinary temperature before European trade called for cheap wares ; lately linseed oil and other dopes have been used to secure rapid drying at the expense of hardness and durability. Nevertheless, a sharp distinction is evident between the lacquer of Japan and the lac of India ; the difference is still greater between all kinds of Japanese and Chinese lacquer wares and the so-called European lacquers, Vernis-Martin, and French polishes which are indiscriminately called lacquer by so many people. Sir George Watts already called attention to the fact years ago, but his plea that the word "lacquer" should be reserved to Japanese lacquer appears to have passed unheeded. Since then a revival of interest in *lac* wares of European origin appears to have taken place, and at the same time Chinese lacquer work has become fashionable. Much that is called Chinese lacquer is not really lacquer. True Chinese lacquer work, as shown at the Whitechapel Exhibition two years ago, includes only carved red lacquer, not made in thin layers, incised guri, inlaid lacquers—of which the large throne exhibited at the Burlington Arts Club is a fine specimen—and work in which mother-of-pearl is used for decoration, but not the so-called Coromandel screens, in which landscapes and figures are incised in wooden panels, the surface of which is covered with a mere coating of black lacquer, whilst the design is coloured with various pigments.

The influence of Chinese lacquer on European furniture in the eighteenth century is well known, but let it be stated emphatically that the European work of that period contains no *lacquer*, only shellac, as a basis, whether it be flat or in relief, with a substratum akin to gesso work, and then similar in technique to the raised work of Indian craftsmen. It is a curious feature of human nature that so many

European workers should have used shellac techniques merely to imitate Chinese or Indian designs. Why copy slavishly the Oriental patterns? One is tempted to ask whether mere money-grubbing is the reason, for if the technique of shellac work is so adaptable as to permit the imitation of Chinese originals, or the Westernized use of Chinese patterns and design without regard for their original intention, meaning, and correlation, why not use it for purely European designs? And, it may be added, why call it lacquer? Indian and Persian craftsmen have evolved remarkable techniques for the decorative use of lac. If it is said that the word *lacquer* was applied to Japanese and Chinese material later because it reminded our ancestors of Indian *lac* work, the suggestion made by Sir George Watt may require revision. We have words in Japanese and in Chinese for all the techniques used in those two countries; experts use them rather than the European equivalents, but experts are not deceived by terminological inexactitudes, and it is for the benefit of the general public that some less haphazard nomenclature is desirable.

ART NOTES

THE ART OF IWAN MEŠTROWIĆ.

THE grandiose sculptures by Iwan Meštrović exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum have created unusual interest, and raised much divided criticism. Academic professors have failed to grasp what they are meant to express, whilst some of our artists (among them Lavery) have discovered in them a spark of true genius.

In order to understand, to fathom these powerful and fierce men in stone, and sympathize with the sad and haunted look of that avenue of widowed mothers, we must go back more than four centuries--*i.e.*, to the year 1387 when the Serbs lost their independence in the famous Battle of Kossovo against the Turks. This is the centre from which Iwan Meštrović has conjured up his giant figures, his imagination went back to that remote past when Serbia was an empire which had successfully withstood not only the power of Byzantium, but also the continuous attacks of the Bulgarians. Had not their great ruler, Stephen Dushan, actually subjugated in the fourteenth century Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and even planned to conquer Byzantium? But Dushan died before he could carry out his vast project, and his successors were too weak to follow it up. The Turks therefore saw their opportunity. Having made Adrianople the capital of their European conquests, they first routed the Serbs on the River Maritza, and some eighteen years after defeated them at Kossovo, the fatal "field of the blackbirds." There it was that their last Czar Lazar was killed. Some 200,000 men were made slaves; others succeeded in leaving the country and settling down in Hungary. Those who remained were treated as Serfs, and what was even worse, every seven years their boys were taken away from them to be brought up in the Moslem faith, and forced into the corps of the Janissaries. All these woeful events Meštrović wished to express in the pathetic but stern-looking female figures and his powerful heads of heroes such as that of Milos Obilic, who penetrated with indomitable courage into the Turkish camp during the warfare with the Turks to slay Sultan Murat I.; of Serge the "Frowning Hero," and above all of Marco Krasjevic, the champion of the Serbian peasants, who, as the legend goes, killed at one occasion single-handed 300 Turks. He is the Serbian Roland, and who, at the outbreak of the first Balkan War (1912), is believed to have appeared on his grey charger waving the soldiers on to victory. These heroic statues, together with the

group of the "Widowed Mothers" and the so-called avenue of the "Mourning Caryatides," will be housed in an architectural building destined to be the Slav-Pantheon on the site of Kossovo; they are a blend of the Elgin-marbles and the art of Rodin, and are inspired by the fierce breadth of the modern Serbs who do not shrink from any obstacles as long as it might help them to attain their national aspirations. Besides these powerful, not to say supernatural, statues and busts of a bygone age, the artist shows himself as an artist up to date and a skilful draughtsman in the admirable marble-bust of his wife, the portrait of himself, and that of his mother and sister. The modelling of the expressive face of Leonardo Bistolfi shows unusual ability. The subtlety of the "Dancing Woman" is an interesting contrast to his "Mothers of Heroes," so also his bewitching Salome, perhaps one of the best representations of that mysterious daughter of Herod.

INDIAN LANDSCAPES.

The pictures of India by G. A. Anderson exhibited at the Modern Gallery, the proceeds of which are destined for the officers' families fund, have attracted so many benevolent visitors that there is hardly an unsold picture left in the show. Especially for anybody who has been in India, these land and seascapes are singularly suggestive and sympathetic.

The Gokak-Falls (No. 7) in the Maharatta country are known to represent one of the grandest sceneries in the world. "the Sunrise on the Hooghly" conveys to us in glowing colours the power of the eastern sun from its rise to its final setting.

The Jama Masjid-mandu in Central India, a majestic temple, is perhaps the most interesting picture of the exhibition. Very attractive is the Bathing-Ghat (No. 35), acquired by her Majesty the Queen, where numerous frolicsome young women indulge in bathing. In conclusion we must still mention the "Evening in the Deccan" at the beginning of the Monsoon, and the "Left Desolate" which makes us feel the solitude and desertion that dawn brings in its train. In all these pictures we detect the sentiment and talent of an artist who has whiled away his leisure hours, not only for his, but also for the benefit of all lovers of India.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF PAINTERS.

Another exhibition which gives its proceeds to the war charities is that of the Royal Society of Water-colours. The "Clou" of this exhibition is Clausen's impressionist art—his fine poetical sketches. the "Pines in the Borghese Garden," the "Gulf of Corinth," and the "Riverside Wharves." Mr. F. S. James is always best when he paints flowers, his "White Azalias" against a white background are as subtle as they are skilful.

Mrs. Laura Knight's "Cornstack" has been much noted. "A French Market," by Mr. Walter Bazes, is a fine piece of decorative design; and Mr. Lamorna Birch's the "Old Mills—Montreuil-sur-Mer" gives us a good example of this artist's able work, which has great affinity with that of Thaulow.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME, BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

WITHIN a few days of the announcement that it was the pleasure of the King-Emperor to confer the honour of knighthood upon the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, one of his plays, "Malini," was given for the first time in London at the Grafton Galleries by the Union of East and West in aid of the wounded Indian soldiers. The performance aroused great interest, and brought together on the platform Mr. William Poel, who was the first producer of an Indian play—"Sakuntala"—in London many years ago, and Mr. Martin Harvey, who said that it was his desire and intention to follow Mr. Poel's lead, and be responsible for bringing an English audience into touch with the drama of India. Both gentlemen spoke of the excellent work which Mr. Das Gupta has carried on, in spite of great difficulties, in his persistent endeavours to make Indian drama known in this country. Mr. Poel declared that he deserved the Victoria Cross. It is under the direction of Mr. Das Gupta that the plays already given by the Union of East and West have been produced, and the English version of "Malini" was taken from a pencil copy by the author in Mr. Das Gupta's possession. The play deals with the old problem of the struggle between the old and the new, especially in religion. The centre of interest is Malini, the young and beautiful daughter of a royal house and the spirit of the new ideas. She meets with opposition from the King and Queen and from the Brahmans, who stir up the populace and demand her banishment. She is ready to go, but as soon as she talks with them they are moved to cry, "Long live Princess Malini!" One, however, objects, and departs, leaving his friend to watch over the interests of the orthodox faith, albeit he is strangely moved by the Princess and her ideas. Later the stern denunciator of the new returns with the determination to put an end to dangerous innovations by killing the Princess; but the plot is discovered, and the plotter arrested. Brought before the King for sentence of death, he asks for his friend, charges him with betrayal, endeavours to win him back to the ancient faith of his fathers, and then plunges a dagger into the heart of one whom he regards as a traitor to friendship and religion. And the final words are an appeal from the

Princess to her father to have mercy. The play departs from ancient tradition—on which a paper was read before the performance—by ending with a tragedy, and the poet sets forth the problem with his characteristic use of imagery and wealth of illustration from nature and the interests of everyday life, without, however, adding his own solution. The play was given, as far as possible, on Hindu traditional lines, without scenery, but the players did not walk among an audience seated on the floor! Miss Margaret G. Mitchell, as Malini, entered into the devotional spirit of the young Princess, touched by the new ideas of religion and service, and played with sincere simplicity. Mr. Henry Twyford was dignified and moving as the fanatic, and Mr. Das Gupta deserves credit for his rendering of the part of the friend, although his indistinct pronunciation made it difficult for the audience to follow the words of the poet. Miss Clarissa Miles, who is devoting her time to furthering the work of the Union, was impressive and human in her portrayal of the Queen. The programme also included a duologue by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, entitled "Petition," given by Mr. Das Gupta and Mrs. P. Gupta.

The war made itself felt at the annual meeting of the National Indian Association: the President, Lord Lamington, was unable to be present owing to military duties. His place was taken by the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, who mentioned, in an interesting speech, that he was present at the formation of the Association, and, as an old friend, took great interest in its work. The war also affected the work of the Association in Great Britain and in India. The report showed that good service had been rendered in India in providing comforts for the Indian troops, and Mr. T. J. Bennett, one of the speakers at the meeting, gave credit to the Association for having prepared the way for this service by accustoming Indian and British ladies to come together and work in co-operation. In England a sum of money amounting to more than £230 had been subscribed in response to an appeal sent out by the Association, and had been expended in supplying the special needs of Indian soldiers at the front and in hospital in this country. Many of the Indian associates had joined the Ambulance Corps, and had been highly commended for their devoted work in the military hospitals at Netley, Brighton, New Milford, etc. In another way the war had been felt: it had prevented the usual number of students from coming to this country, and the gaps in membership made by the return to India of those who had completed their work had not been filled. This had affected the finances of the Association, but Sir James Wilson, the hon. treasurer, was able to report a small balance on the right side. He appealed for further help by an increase of members from the ranks of those who are interested in India's many interests. Sir William Duke, who described himself as one of the latest recruits of the Association, pointed out that the greater part of the work is done by ladies both in India and in England. His statement was supported in a practical way by the fact that it was a lady, Mrs. Fox-Strangways, who made useful suggestions at the meeting for the furtherance of

the service the Association renders, especially in India. Mrs. Fox-Strangways founded the Central Provinces and Berar Branch, and she advocated not only the founding of Branches in all Provinces where they do not already exist, but an annual conference of Indian Branches at a convenient centre—she mentioned Jubbulpore—for consultation, encouragement, and stimulation for extended work. In a speech of moving eloquence and sympathy she appealed for the progress of women side by side with men in India. Mr. Bennett spoke hopefully of the better understanding between East and West which is likely to result from the presence of the Territorials in India, and quoted evidence from letters received in this country from the men in India. Sir Krishna Gupta, who advocated the enlarging of Indian representation on the Council of the Association, Syed Ameer Ali, and all the speakers paid warm tribute to the devoted work of Miss Beck, the Hon. Secretary, as the moving spirit of the Association, and to Miss A. A. Smith for her editorship of the *Indian Magazine and Review*, the monthly organ of the Association, and for arranging the visits to places of interest. As Indian members, Mr. S. Dikshit and Mr. R. Gupta heartily supported the tribute, and expressed their appreciation of the work of the Association in bringing together the people of Great Britain and India and in helping the education of Indian girls.

There were two special interests at the Medal Day of the Royal Asiatic Society on June 8. It was announced by the President, Lord Reay, that the Gold Medal of the Society, conferred once in three years for special eminence in Oriental research, had been awarded to Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis and her twin-sister and collaborator, Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson. This is the first occasion on which the highest honour the Society can confer for scholarship has been given to women; the gold medal will be held jointly by the sisters. They are probably the best-known women Orientalists in the world, they are always to be found at congresses and foregatherings of Oriental scholars, and are very popular at Cambridge, where they live. Their special work is in Semitic research, their best known books are "*Studia Sinaitica*" and "*Hore Semitica*." Mrs. Lewis discovered the Sinaitic palimpsest containing the most ancient Syrian text of the Gospels, and, in conjunction with her sister, produced the standard edition of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary based on two manuscripts which she discovered, supplementary to those previously available. Her latest discovery of "Leaves from Three Ancient Qurans" is of importance for the history of Islam. Heartiest congratulations have been received by the two sisters on the recognition of their work, by the bestowal of the highest honour in the gift of the Royal Asiatic Society. The medal was presented a week later by the Secretary of State for India at the India Office; the ceremony was private, but was attended by members of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society. The occasion was unique, and will be remembered by Mr. Austen Chamberlain as the first at which he officiated in his new office of Secretary of State for India.

The Public Schools Medal has been won this year by Merchant Taylors'

—for the fourth time. It was handed to the fortunate winner, Mr. H. A. Mettam, by Sir Hugh Barnes. Mr. Mettam was born at Cawnpore, where his father is now stationed, and it is his ambition to go in for the Indian Civil Service, health permitting. The subject of the essay was "Delhi, Past and Present," and Sir Hugh Barnes, in presenting the medal, congratulated Mr. Mettam on his able study of the subject and his balanced judgment. Sir Hugh, in a speech of some length dealing with the Delhis of the past and the new Delhi that is to be, pointed out that the city owed its stormy history principally to its geographical position. All the invaders from Central Asia were in pursuit of the rainfall, and the only way by which they could reach Hindustan was through the gap between the Himalayas on the north and the great Indian desert, and the invading armies, pouring through the gap, found Delhi, the gate of Hindustan, standing sentinel at the far end. Sir Hugh added some personal recollections of the three great Durbars at Delhi with which he has been associated, and made interesting comparisons of their characteristics. He looked forward to the eighth Delhi and its buildings as being worthy to stand in proximity to the masterpieces of Shah Jehan, and provided with the amenities and conveniences of modern civilization. The older Delhi, with its buildings renovated and restored, would become, he considered, a paradise for the historian and the archæologist. The Society awards book prizes to other competitors for the Public Schools Medal, and reference was made to the high level of all the essays sent in. In addition to Mr. Mettam, the winner of the medal, Mr. Lumley, of Eton, and Mr. Bickersteth, of Shrewsbury, received prizes.

As a result of the changes in the Government, Lord Crewe and Mr. Charles Roberts made their last appearances as Secretary of State for India and Under-Secretary at recent meetings in London. Lord Crewe presided at the meeting of the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts on May 13, when Sir Charles Armstrong, ex-Chairman of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, lectured on "Indian Trade and the War." The lecturer pointed out that the distribution of India's vast trade is a very interesting study, but that the bulk of it is with the United Kingdom; next came Germany as India's most important customer, then Japan, the United States, and other countries. He urged British manufacturers to visit the collection of articles now exhibited at the Commercial Intelligence Branch of the Board of Trade, 32, Cheapside, and to see the many "odds and ends articles" which have been made in Germany and Austria for India. Lord Crewe paid warm tribute to the Indian troops now fighting on the various fronts, who, he said, "had equalled, and, if it were possible, had excelled the feats of the wars of the past," to the Indian Princes, and to the whole people of India, men and women alike, who, according to their opportunities, had testified their support of the Government of the King-Emperor and a just cause. He expressed the hope that it would be possible to avoid imposing fresh taxation on India during the war, and that there should be the least possible curtailment of expenditure on productive

works. Recognizing the unending liberality of India's contributions in men and money to the war, he observed that "a word of distinct praise should be kept for the Indian patriotic investor in the Government rupee loan; he was not merely assisting in the development of the country, but positively helping in the prosecution and carrying on of the war."

Mr. Roberts had a hearty reception when he spoke at the annual meeting of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, and the hope was strongly expressed that the Governmental changes then taking place would leave untouched the Under-Secretaryship of India—a hope destined to disappointment. Mr. Roberts declared that the outlook for temperance in India was distinctly hopeful, and that the action of the Government with regard to increased taxation on liquor and the abolition of the opium traffic showed that the welfare of the people was considered before revenue. Sir Herbert Roberts, President of the Association, was in the chair, and spoke with confidence about the resolution he is shortly to move in the House of Commons concerning the abolition of the auction system and the teaching of temperance principles in the schools in India. The Bishop of Lincoln was a new spokesman for the Association, others were the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, Sir Krishna Gupta, and Mr. Yusuf Ali.

There was a remarkable gathering of his official colleagues, of his many European friends, and of his countrymen, irrespective of creed, at the banquet given in honour of Sir Krishna Gupta at the Hotel Cecil on June 2, organized by the Indian Social Club, on his retirement from the Council of India. Lord Crewe and Lord Morley, who were unable to be present, sent letters of regret, which expressed affectionate regard for Sir Krishna and warm appreciation of his service on the Council. Mr. E. S. Montagu, Under-Secretary for so long during Sir Krishna's service, presided at the banquet, and declared that, war or no war, the tribute should be paid to so eminent a servant of the Empire, who for forty-four years had met, with the unconquerable demeanour of youth and with the saving grace of humour, all kinds of difficult problems concerning the country he loved so devotedly and served so well. Mr. Charles Roberts spoke with personal sympathy, since he, too, had not long survived Sir Krishna at the India Office. It was with regret that he had given up his work for India, not of his own accord, but under orders. He told how he had seen the august body of the India Council moved to unwonted emotion when they took leave of Sir Krishna after his seven years' service, and said that the growing understanding and goodwill were great forces bringing Britain and India together, and the sufferings and sorrows of these dark days, shared alike by Briton and Indian, will strengthen "our faith in the tarrying morn." Lord Islington, the new Under-Secretary, was present, also Sirdar Daljit Singh, Sir Krishna's successor on the Council. His Highness the Jam Sahib paid tribute to Sir Krishna's work and personality. In reply, Sir Krishna made amusing reference to the funeral orations on his official death and the liveliness of the dead man to speak for himself. He was deeply touched by the demonstration in his honour, as showing that

his career had met with success. He spoke of the welcome he had received when he began his work at the India Office and the cordiality which had lasted, in spite of differences of opinion, until the last day of his service. He looked with confidence to the future which, after the response of India to the call of the Empire in time of need, would bring a consolidation of the various parts, and an Imperial Parliament in which every part would be represented. He also looked for consolidation in India, to autonomy of the various provinces under a central federal Government, presided over by a representative of the Crown, preferably a member of the Royal Family. Then Britain's task in India would be discharged, and her reward would be the everlasting affection and contentment of a grateful people.

The Allies lent their aid with good will and good effect to the Oriental Matinée at the Playhouse, London, on June 18, organized by the Eastern League in aid of the wounded Indian soldiers, in connection with the Indian Soldiers Fund. Belgium, France, Russia, and Japan contributed their share to a most varied and interesting programme, in addition to the special and fitting Indian features. Madame Réjane, who has already interested herself in the convalescent Indian soldiers visiting London, brought some of her company, and, with them, played with moving effect the scene from the patriotic play "Alsace," which ends with the singing *sotto voce* of the "Marseillaise" by a little group of Alsatians. M. Carlo Laten recited with restrained but deep feeling Émile Verhaeren's touching poem, "Cœur de Liège." Madame Donnet sang modern Russian songs, and Sacha Vottichenko added the very novel interest of playing Russian music on an ancient tympanum presented to one of his ancestors by Louis XIV. of France. Madame Hanako, the celebrated Japanese actress, and Michio Itow, won hearty appreciation for the Japanese dances they gave with remarkable skill; and Russian dances were given by Mlle. Lambert. A special Indian interest was the series of brilliant tableaux setting forth the story of "Ramayana." Nearly all who took part were Indians, under the able stage management of Mrs. P. L. Roy. One of the most enthusiastic admirers in the audience was Madame Réjane, to whom the colour and the grace of the tableaux made an irresistible appeal. Miss Victoria Drummond contributed an important share to the programme in her mystic dances, one of which represented Vishnu and the creation of the material world, another Radha and the Boy Krishna; a third, the Peacock Dance, was arranged by H.H. the Maharaja of Jhalawar. Professor Inayat Khan and his Royal Musicians of Hindustan added their gift of music and song. The Matinée was under the distinguished patronage of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, Princess Marie Louise de Bourbon, the Maharaja Jam Sahib, the Japanese Ambassador, the Belgian and Serbian Ministers, Lord Crewe, Lady Minto, Lady Arnold, Lady Cecilia Roberts, Sir Krishna Gupta, Mr. Cyril Maude, and others. Lady Muir Mackenzie, President of the Eastern League, and other members worked indefatigably to insure the success which should bring substantial help to the fund.

In a lecture on "India and the War," given by Sir Francis Younghusband before the Royal Colonial Institute on May 11, various important aspects of the situation were brought forward in a way which moved his large audience to new and arresting thought. Sir Francis would have still quicker and easier communication between Great Britain and India, still more interchange of visits, so that conditions on the spot may be known by both, and in this way, by drawing heart to heart, the great invisible tie binding India and Britain will be strengthened. After the war, he declared, Indians will demand still greater share in the management of their own affairs, leading to self-government within, not outside of, the British Empire.

Special permission was granted by the Italian military authorities to Dr. Filippo de Filippi to come to London to lecture before the Royal Geographical Society on June 14 on his recent expedition to the Karakorum and Central Asia, and he received an enthusiastic welcome from the large audience which followed every word of his most interesting story. The Italian explorer, who has been awarded this year the Patron's Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society, speaks such excellent English, with scarcely a trace of foreign accent, that it is quite easy to understand him; and the admirable lantern slides, which illustrated the lecture, transported the audience to the snowy ranges and wonderful glaciers of the Karakorum. Dr. de Filippi said that he was indebted to the Government of Italy for the loan of nearly the whole outfit of scientific instruments, to the Government of India for a liberal contribution and the co-operation of various Indian technical departments, to the Kashmir Durbar, and to various scientific societies in England and in Italy, including the Royal Geographical Society and the Royal Society. Major H. Wood, R.E., of the Trigonometrical Survey (India), S. A. S. Jamna Pershad, and the Surveyor Shiv Lal, were deputed to take part in the survey work. For the first time in such an expedition wireless telegraphy was used. An important part of the work of the expedition was to establish a series of geophysical stations for observations of gravity and magnetism to stretch an unbroken chain across the mountainous zone which separates India from Central Asia, and be carried on through Chinese to Russian Turkestan, thus uniting the two sets of existing gravimetric stations—that of the Indian pre-Himalayan plains, carried out by the Trigonometrical Survey of Dhera Dun, and that of Russian Turkestan and the adjoining regions. In addition, other scientific work was undertaken, including meteorological and aerological investigations, measurements of solar radiations, pendulum and magnetic observations. From the geographical point of view, the most important result of the expedition has been the discovery of the source of the Yarkand River, hitherto erroneously marked on nearly every map as rising near the Karakorum Pass. It was while exploring the Remo Glacier that the discovery was made, and it was found that the Yarkand flows from the same glacier which gives rise to the River Shyok. At the Depsang headquarters of the expedition the news reached the party on August 16 of the outbreak of war in Europe. A naval and a military Italian officer

in the expedition immediately returned to Italy by the shortest route, via India; Dr. De Filippi continued his work for some time, and eventually returned to Europe via the Trans-Caspian Railway. In his lecture he paid warm tribute to the excellent work done by the Indian members of the expedition. The occasion brought together many Himalayan explorers. In the chair was the President of the Royal Geographical Society, Sir Douglas Freshfield; the veteran Colonel Godwin Austin, who initiated the exploration of the Karakorum in 1861-62, joined in the discussion after the lecture, as did Sir Francis Younghusband and Sir Thomas Holdich.

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A lecture on his recent visit to Constantinople was given by Mr. M. E. El-Bakry, M.S.P., on May 27, at the Prince Henry's Room, Fleet Street, E.C., before the Orient Literary Circle. Mr. Syud Hussain presided, and there was a large attendance. The lecturer directed his remarks mainly towards giving a lucid idea of the ordinary everyday life of the Turk in Constantinople, the characteristics of the Muslim quarters of that city, and a comparison of the manners and customs of Oriental life with those of Western countries. The speaker summed up by saying that the result of his visits to Constantinople was to give him the impression that the Turk was almost invariably polite, extremely hospitable, very sociable, proud of his race, loyal to his Sultan, his country, and his creed, and, above all things, truthful and brave.

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The novelty of the interest of the meeting of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society on June 1—a lecture on Tchaikovsky—attracted a large audience. It was a musical afternoon, and the lecturer, Mr. G. C. Ashton Jonson, declared that Tchaikovsky is one of the greatest of the many musical geniuses of Russia. He knows the music of other nations, but still retains his own characteristics and nationality in music. The lecture was fully illustrated by musical selections played by Mr. Jonson on the piano, with running comments on the special points emphasized. He gave many from "Romeo and Juliet" to show how Tchaikovsky tells the whole story in music, including the first quarrels of the retainers of the two rival families, the serenade of Romeo, and the final tragedy. In the same way the action of a battlefield was told in music. Songs were sung by ladies to illustrate other points of the lecture. Dr. Pollen, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said that a perfect image of the great Russian composer had been built up and his characteristics clearly demonstrated. Mr. E. A. Cazalet, President of the Society, was in the chair. To-day (July 1) Mr. Ernest Fowles, F.R.A.M., will lecture on "The Musical Outlook in Russia," with illustrations.

A. A. S.

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On July 22 a lecture was delivered at 155, Brompton Road, London, by Miss F. R. Scatcherd, to draw attention to the work of the Armenian Red Cross Society and outline the claims of Armenia to British sympathy.

She drew a vivid picture of the state of affairs now the order of the day in that unhappy country. However, their past history had proved their remarkable recuperative power, as they had always managed to outlive their invaders. She pleaded for an autonomous form of government under the auspices of the Allied Powers. Finally, she drew a comparison between unhappy Belgium and Armenia, pointing out that just as the one had impeded the onrush of the German armies, so the latter had put spokes in the wheel of Turkey.

ISLAMIC SOCIETY.—An interesting function took place on Saturday, August 7, at the Hotel Cecil, when a farewell "At Home" was given by the members of the Islamic Society of London to Mr. Chaudrie Abdul-Haq, Barrister-at-Law, on the eve of his return to India. John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D., M.S.P., presided, and voiced the kind wishes of those present for the future success of Mr. Abdul-Haq in his profession. Speeches were also delivered by Dr. Syed Abdul-Majid, Mr. E. Dalgardo, and others, the guest of the evening suitably replying thereto. During the evening songs, readings, recitations and pianoforte solos were effectively rendered by several ladies and gentlemen, and several Indian songs given by Inayat Khan's company of musicians.

The Feast of Ramazan was duly celebrated on Friday, August 13, simultaneously at the Mosque, Woking, and 39, Upper Bedford Place, London.

The sermon at the Mosque was delivered by Maulvi Sadr-ud-Din.

NOTE.—"Where East and West Meet" was omitted from our last issue owing to a printer's error, but will now form a regular feature, as it has been generally appreciated —A. R.

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Lancelot Sanderson, Esq., K.C., M.P., to be Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, in succession to Sir Lawrence Jenkins, K.C.I.E., who will retire in November next.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Sir George Stapylton Barnes, K.C.B., Second Secretary to the Board of Trade, to be an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India in succession to Sir William Clark. In consequence of the pressure of work at the Board of Trade, the President of the Board has requested, and the Viceroy has agreed, that Sir George Barnes should defer taking charge of the Department of Commerce and Industry, to be relinquished by Sir William Clark in November, until next March.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of George Rivers Lowndes, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, to be Law Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India in succession to Sir Ali Imam, K.C.S.I., whose term of office expires in November next.

The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Secretary of State for India, has appointed Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., to be a Member of the Council of India

in succession to Lieutenant-Colonel Sir David Barr, K.C.S.I., whose term of office will expire in August.

IMPROVEMENT IN THE RAINFALL IN INDIA.

The Secretary of State for India has received the following telegrams from the Viceroy :

July 6, 1915.—"The week's rainfall has been *in excess* in Lower Burma, Assam, Bengal, Bihar, the United Provinces, the North-West Frontier Province, the East part of Central India, and the Central Provinces proper. *Normal* in Upper Burma and Bombay Deccan. *Fair* in Orissa, the Punjab, Kashmir, Konkan, the north part of Hyderabad, and Malabar. *Scanty* elsewhere.

"The Arabian Sea current is weak at present, and rainfall is likely to be deficient during next week in the North-West and in Central India."

July 13, 1915.—"The week's rainfall was in excess in Assam, Baluchistan, and the south-east part of Madras. It was normal in Upper Burma and Bengal, fair in the Bay Islands, Lower Burma and Bihar, and scanty elsewhere. An appreciable improvement is likely during next week."

July 20, 1915.—"The week's rainfall was *in excess* in Baluchistan, the Bombay Deccan, the south part of Hyderabad, and in Mysore and Madras. It was *normal* in Upper Burma, the west part of Central India, and Berar ; *scanty* in Lower Burma, Assam, Orissa, Chota Nagpur, the south-west part of the Punjab, Kashmir, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind, and the east part of the Central Provinces, and *fair* elsewhere. The improvement is likely to be maintained during next week."

August 10, 1915.—"The week's rainfall was in excess in Bihar, the east part of the United Provinces, the east part of Rajputana and in Central India ; it was normal in Lower Burma, Assam, Bengal, the west part of the United

Provinces, the west part of Rajputana, the whole of the Central Provinces and Malabar ; fair in Upper Burma, Orissa, Chota Nagpur, the east and north parts of the Punjab, Konkan, the Bombay Deccan, the north part of Hyderabad, the south-east part of Madras, and the northern portion of the Madras coast ; the rainfall was scanty elsewhere.

“ The monsoon is likely to be weak for a few days.”

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER 1, 1915

THE EASTERN WAR AREAS

BY A MILITARY CORRESPONDENT

I. THE DARDANELLES

WHEN the first landings were made on the Gallipoli shores, there were not wanting those who prophesied that the campaign would be of very brief duration—but who has ever heard of anything in which the Turk is concerned being carried through other than very deliberately? Moreover, the nineteenth and early twentieth century history of Turkey goes to prove that no man is better able to fight a losing fight than the Turk, and under practically hopeless circumstances he is capable of giving a good account of himself. Had Austrians or Bavarians been set the task of holding the Achi Baba position and fortifying the Pasha Dag against the time when the Achi Baba heights must of necessity be taken, then the whole business would have been finished a month or more ago; but the Turk is different; he hangs on by his eyelids and teeth, fights half starving, and, short of running completely out of ammunition, continues the struggle gamely and well. The Turk knows nothing of government on civilized lines, in spite of the teachings of his German masters, but most assuredly he knows all there is to be known about fighting, and the end in Gallipoli is therefore not yet. So many theories have been upset by this war that, even given the consent of the

censor, prophecy with regard to the end of the Dardanelles campaign is impossible.

A review of the principal features of the campaign, which has become of primary importance among the events of the war, is both possible and advisable at this present stage of the operations. Most of the operations are well understood, having been described by various critics up to the point at which the reader wearies, but attempts at presenting a co-ordinated survey of the whole work are conspicuous by their rarity.

The position at the southern end of the peninsula is familiar to all. The Allied line stretches across from shore to shore, and fronts the Turkish position of Achi Baba, a ridge which reaches from coast to coast and affords magnificent artillery positions, and, given equal forces on each side, is virtually impregnable. Much descriptive work, too, has been spent on the landing at Anzas and Suvla Bay, where the Allied front extends for twelve miles along the coast and for a little over two miles inland. Here, as at the foot of the peninsula, the ridges run almost transversely to the coast, and since the landing has been effected at the end of a ridge, the business is not that of advancing against the front of the ridge, but along it and along its ravine boundaries. This is valuable, not only as a diversion drawing off the enemy from the southern position, but still more so in that it threatens the one remaining avenue of supply to Achi Baba. One good main road runs by way of Bulair from the mainland to the main Turkish positions, and, when the Suvla Bay force has won far enough along its appointed way, the southern force will be almost starved out.

Almost, but not quite, for there remains a precarious communication with the Asiatic shore, and by this means some munitions, some food, and some reinforcements can still reach through. But the Allied warships and submarines are able to make this path a precarious one, and the southward road from Bulair counts as the principal avenue of

supply for the enemy. From this it will be understood that the Suvla Bay operations are of primary importance, and the landing there is far more than a mere diversion of enemy strength. Success at this point, involving complete command of the only good road, would close the campaign in Gallipoli in favour of the Allies.

One factor of the campaign which has not received the attention it merits is the aid furnished by Russia in the Black Sea—indirect aid, it is true, but not less valuable for that. When it was found that a shortage of munitions was likely to occur in Gallipoli, the German masters of Turkey established munition factories at Constantinople, and an immediate shortage was averted. But for the working of munition factories coal is needed, and, since there is no rail communication between the Turkish coal-fields and Constantinople, fleets of colliers conveyed the mineral to the factories by way of the Black Sea—until the Russian Black Sea Fleet got to work. The Turkish plan at the outset was to send numbers of small colliers out, in the hope that some, at least, would get through—and they were sunk by the hundred by Russian torpedo-boats. When these small unescorted craft had been practically swept off the water, the plan of sending larger vessels under escort was tried—and with no better success, for in the last Black Sea action the Turkish escort vessels were severely punished, and the coal carriers were sunk.

Regarding the present position in the Turkish capital, we have no official information beyond that afforded by Lord Kitchener's recent speech in the House of Lords. The War Minister's words, however, are abundantly borne out by neutral reports from Athens and elsewhere, and although as a rule these unofficial neutral reports may be discounted—in this case they are so persistent and so similar that they merit some credence, on the principle that there is never smoke without fire—we may even consider Lord Kitchener's statement about the rapidly approaching demoralization as the fire following the smoke of the neutral reports.

These neutral reports have spoken, for weeks past, of the dissatisfaction of Turkey generally with the present state of affairs ; of anti-German manifestations in Constantinople, of grave shortage of ammunition and supplies in the Gallipoli area itself, and of the probability of the Turkish defence failing at no very distant date—some of them even go so far as to say that the defence is on the point of collapse. Much of this may be discounted, and, in view of Lord Kitchener's pronouncement, it may be taken that the Turkish situation on the peninsula is by no means secure, but that, at the same time, the troops will hang on to the very last in view of promised German aid. The factors to cause discontent are the threat from Suvla, the danger in the Sea of Marmora from Allied submarines, the virtual impossibility of getting coal through to Constantinople by reason of the activity of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, and the submarines in the straits themselves, which render provisioning and munitioning of the peninsula from the Asiatic shore difficult, if not impossible.

All these things will be felt—mainly at Constantinople to begin with, and there the danger of the troops protecting the Dardanelles will be clearly seen—but it is very doubtful whether these things will in any way affect the fighting value of the defensive force itself. Insurrection itself may occur in the capital, and still the troops on the peninsula would be unaffected, for military discipline would hold them up to the last, and as long as a round remained they would fight on in the hope of the promised German relief and assistance—the German leaders on the spot would see to that, for every day that an Allied force is detained in Gallipoli is a day gained both in Flanders and on the Russian front, and for the ultimate fate of Turkey Germany cares no more than for that of Poland or Belgium—not so much, in fact.

Of recent military news from this area, there is none worthy of comment. The chief interest attaching to these operations lies in Lord Kitchener's announcement, and in

the confirming reports from neutral sources, all of which point to the fact that exhaustion on the part of the enemy is by far the most likely end to the campaign—and in a campaign of exhaustion there is little of thrilling military news. The Russian siege and capture of Przemyśl is a case in point ; for weeks and even months the work goes on without definite news being given of the besiegers' progress, and then one day comes the news that the defence is at an end. Thus, probably, will come the end of the Dardanelles campaign.

II. THE RUSSIAN RETREAT

Although the campaign of the Russian retreat falls naturally into separate phases, it is useless to attempt apprehension of this campaign as other than one single and co-ordinated series of actions ; to speak of the capture of this or that city, or the gaining of this or that territory by the enemy, is to miss adequate conception of the enemy plan, which is the destruction of the Russian armies ; all other successes, all captures of fortified places, and all advances into Russian territory, are mere incidentals to that end, and, unless the Russian armies are in the end destroyed, all these incidentals are of no value. Their moral and political value lies in the way in which, depriving our Ally of railway communication, of centres for the production of munitions, and areas for the production and storing of food, they hamper the movements of the Russian armies and cause discouragement among the Russian people. The last-mentioned factor may be left out of account, for the German successes have produced no more impression on the Russian people than did the fall of Moscow produce in the time of Napoleon—and the German front is still a long way from Moscow.

This great series of actions began at the end of April on the Dunajec, with a massed attack by von Mackensen. The enemy plan at that time was based on the known

Russian shortage of big-gun ammunition; Mackensen formed a phalanx, intending to drive a wedge into the Russian lines by massed attacks preceded by such an artillery bombardment of the threatened point as should daze his opponents almost beyond the power of resistance, and in the beginning the plan very nearly met with the success that was aimed at—the breaking of the Russian line and the division of the Russian forces into two separate bodies, each of which could be defeated at leisure. The story of the first fortnight's fighting has been fully told, and is well known; the withdrawal and strengthening of the Russian line was effected only just in time, but it *was* effected in time, and from the middle of May onward the Russian retreat was conducted in good order, so that the successive abandonments of Przemyśl, Lemberg, and even of Warsaw and Ivangorod, were effected only after everything of military value had been withdrawn from the threatened centres. The first phase of the great Austro-German attack may be considered to have ended with the fall of Lemberg and the entry of Boehm-Ermolli on the 22nd of June to that city. The action of Mackensen's phalanx had been successful as far as forcing back the enemy was concerned, although the main objective, the destruction of the Russian armies, was no nearer than at the outset. It may be estimated, too, that the losses of the invaders, up to the time of the entry to Lemberg, were not less than 400,000 men, for there were times during the advance when the massed artillery preparation was not quite effective, and then the losses in the Austro-German ranks from Russian machine-gun and rifle fire were appalling; the massed enemy infantry presented splendid targets, and as they advanced in masses they went down in masses.

The second phase began with the swinging of the Austro-German attack—the main attack—up from the line of the Dneister to in front of Warsaw. The enemy artillery was still overpoweringly strong, but his advance

proceeded more slowly, because his communications were lengthening, and he no longer had at his service the excellent railway system which had been just behind him when the great attack began. The action of modern heavy artillery is of necessity spasmodic, for no railway system yet constructed could bring up shells in such number as to render continuous action possible, even if all the shell factories in the world were at work to produce the shells necessary for continuous action. Thus, as the enemy line of communication lengthened, action became more difficult and progress slower. It is worthy of remark that the rate of progress has consistently declined up to this time of writing, and is still declining.

The masterly way in which Warsaw and Ivangorod were cleared of all stores and all military necessities, detailed a score of times, needs no comment ; it will stand as one of the great features of the war, when perspective admits of historical records and full reports are available. A distinct success, however, fell to the enemy at this point in his advance. Knowing that the Vistula, navigable for fairly large vessels, would form a great feature in the enemy communications, the Russians left Novo Georgievsk in possession of a garrison, in order to bar traffic up and down the river, which the fortress fully commanded. It was generally expected that the garrison of the fortress would render navigation of the river impossible for a month, at least, and probably for a longer period—otherwise it would have been of little use sacrificing so considerable a body of men as were necessary to hold Novo Georgievsk. But a fortnight was sufficient, with the German heavy siege artillery, to batter the defences of the place to pieces, and to gain a free waterway on the Vistula—the guns and the garrison, although they had delayed navigation for a fortnight, did not accomplish the full task that had been entrusted to them, and, although the failure was no fault of theirs, the fall of Novo Georgievsk must be counted a distinct enemy success.

With the fall of that fortress ended the second phase of the great retreat on our Ally's part, for it betokened the passing of the last shadow of command over the waters of the Vistula. And now, at this point, the German general staff was faced by alternatives over which there was, apparently, no hesitation. It was possible to hold the Vistula line with a far less number of troops and guns than had been needed in the advance itself, and to turn the main energies of the enemy armies to the West, or it was possible to continue the Eastern attack, still leaving in the West the defensive screen that has kept Belgium in German hands for a year. No doubt, on the whole, the enemy decision was a wise one. It was common knowledge that the Allied line in the West was well prepared for attack, and success there was very nearly an impossibility. In the East, on the other hand, the Russians were still inferior in artillery and munitions, and, with at least two months of open weather remaining, it might be possible to achieve the original intent, and to break the Russian armies before the coming of winter.

Thus the enemy went on, and Brest-Litovsk shared the fate of Warsaw and Ivangorod. It was not stormed, for the Russian retreat was too orderly a thing, the Russian resistance too strong for that; it was evacuated in orderly fashion, and nothing of military value was left for an enemy who had already sacrificed nearly one-fourth of his effectives, and whose lines of communication were constantly lengthening, in this attempt at breaking the Russian armies. Cities and territory fell into German hands, and, at the time of writing, are still falling; but that is merely political success, and, unless it compels Russia as a whole to give up the struggle, it is useless in the end, for the Russian armies are still intact.

The twenty-fourth parallel of longitude, on which stand both Riga and Lemberg, marks the approximate position of the Austro-German forces. At some points in their line they are beyond the parallel, and at other points,

notably in the south, they have not yet reached it. In the extreme north, the attack on Riga has definitely failed. A little farther south the line has pushed far east of Riga, and the Vilna-Petrograd line of rail has passed into enemy hands at certain points, to such an extent as to render it useless to the Russians. The latest German communique claims the fall of Vilna itself. Around Vilna the strength of the attack is centred.

In the south, round about Tarnopol, the advance has come to an end with the smashing of two enemy army corps and extensive captures of mainly Austrian forces by the Russians. At the present time the problem is not unlike that which arose at the beginning of the war, when German forces were set to break the northern frontier of France by way of Belgium, and French forces were set to break the German defence by way of Metz. At that time, however, the German forces in the north were immensely superior in numbers, and the forcing of the northern French frontier instantly relieved all threat against Metz, where the French had already suffered one defeat.

The present problem is unlike that referred to, in that the forces both in the north and south of the line have far more nearly equal chances. The near future may see an advance beyond Vilna on the part of the Germans; but unless that advance cripples the Russian armies in that district, and is accompanied by huge and extremely unlikely captures of troops and guns, it will not lead to a decision, which is what the enemy is desperately striving to achieve before the winter sets in. On the other hand, Russian progress in the south points to the possibility of the line of enemy attack being turned on that flank, which would mean utter failure and disaster to the Austro-German forces.

It has already been pointed out that the main object of the great Austro-German advance was strictly military, in that it involved the destruction of the Russian armies as its end. That aim has now failed; or it may be considered to

have failed, for it is scarcely within the bounds of possibility that it can be achieved before winter rains put an end to the movement of the heavy artillery on which the enemy chiefly relies. There was, however, a political aim as well. It was anticipated on the part of the enemy that the successive occupations of enemy cities and industrial centres, and the passing into enemy hands of vast tracts of Russian territory, would have such a depressing effect on Russia as a whole that it would be possible to conclude a separate peace in the East, and then turn all efforts to the crushing of the Western Allied armies. But the enemy advance, on the other hand, has merely brought about a great awakening of Russia. The closing of avenues of import set working Russian munition factories, and the national danger merely stiffened instead of frightening the nation, so that every day sees an improvement in the situation from the Russian point of view. The political aim of the great enemy advance has been utterly fruitless, and Russian determination to carry the war to a successful conclusion is stronger than ever.

It is worth while to compare the respective objects of the two sides to the struggle, as far as they are apparent at this point. It is definite and beyond dispute that Germany, seeing that the present time marks the limit of success she is likely to achieve, is willing and even eager for peace—that she would gladly conclude peace if that were possible, and talks of no more than “making terms.” In Russia, just as in France and in England, there is no thought of making terms of any kind; the only conclusion that the people will see as possible is that of victory and the dictation of terms, not compromise and the making of them.

It is worth while, too, to reflect on the cost of this great advance to the enemy armies and to their cause. Not so much the cost in mere numbers as in possibilities of future phases of the war. More than a quarter of the men sent against Russia will fight no more, and the maximum enemy effort was made in the advance. Every man and gun that

could be spared from the western and Italian fronts was sent to the Russian front, and, if the campaign had ended as the enemy hoped it would end, the great gamble would have been justified to the full. But failure in the great enterprise puts a very gloomy face on matters for the enemy. There is a western offensive on the part of the Allies to be reckoned with, and recent events have proved that, in artillery, in provision for the artillery, and in men, the Western Allies are a distinct danger to the Austro-German cause—to say the least of it. There is the growing menace of the Italian front to be reckoned with, for the Italian campaign progresses as steadily as quietly, and the power of the Italian army for offensive action grows with every hill-crest that is won. There must be faced the fact that Turkey is approaching exhaustion, and the end of the Dardanelles campaign will set free masses of men and guns. Lastly, the failure to crush Russia means that, in the comparative inaction of the winter, the Russians will go on with the business of arming and training men, producing munitions and guns, so that when the spring comes there may well be a preponderance of strength on the side of Russia, instead of, as in this great advance, on the side of Austro-Germany.

There must be faced the fact that the last reserves of the Central Powers are already under training, and that the point of greatest power has been passed by Germany as well as by Austria, while the point of greatest power has not yet been reached either by Russia or by England, and France still has reserves in hand. There will probably occur—it may even now be in progress—one more great battle around Vilna before winter begins in earnest, but its result can hardly be conclusive as the enemy desires, and for Germany the alternatives in the eastern campaign are decision before winter, and doom.

REPUBLICAN CHINA

BY E. H. PARKER

THE rumours that Yüan Shih-k'ai is about to declare himself Emperor, and that his American adviser, Professor Goodnow, has, so to speak, conferred a paternal blessing upon the monarchical idea, will be swallowed, with or without salt, or rejected at once according to the amount of solid information possessed by each individual who may think proper to make up his mind on the subject : it is at least remarkable that these monarchical ideas should (whether rightly or not) be associated with a republican professor, whose mind has perhaps been stimulated by the spectacle of republican indefiniteness in the face of two serious crises in his own country ; it would be still stranger if, in view of the murderous antics of a certain monarchical Messiah in Europe, a new hankering after absolutism should evince itself in hoary-headed old China. At the worst, however, it is not likely that the American " Adviser for drafting the Constitution " had anything more serious in his mind than academical advice, in which case he would not be going beyond the bygone solemn official utterances of Yüan himself, to wit, when four years ago he manfully resolved to sacrifice the historical game-leg and proceed *clopin-clopant* to Peking in the hope of saving the discredited Manchu dynasty. It will be remembered that he sent the Cantonese T'ang Shao-i—ever since the Corean days of 1885 his faithful henchman—to meet the last-ditchers of republicanism, Wu T'ing-fang and other Southerners, at Shanghai, in

order to try and persuade them that China's best interests, at least for the crisis of that moment, would be served by accepting a constitution from the then helpless and submissive hands of the Manchus themselves, who had already, nilly-willy, or out of desperate conviction, gone a long way to meet Young China's views in that direction ; and this for the reason that the Chinese mind, as a whole, still needed the expansion necessary to a proper conception of the constitutional measures which were to be born of the popular will ; not to mention the additional fact that there was no Chinese family in existence sufficiently honest, or possessing sufficiently the requisite popular prestige, to enable any member of it to substitute a workable administration even as efficient as the crippled Manchu system, which, with all its faults, had a noble history, and was at least a ready-made and going concern with all the prestige of 2,000 years "divine grace" behind it. In other words, Yüan was for a sort of coalition, for, as the man in *Punch's* picture said of another coalition at about that time, "There's no knowins and there's no tellins, and, mark me, I ain't fur wrong."

But whatever value may be attached by the Western public to the alleged views of Professor Goodnow, it must be remembered that his official title is only that limited one given above ; it must not be forgotten that there is another dark horse in the background—the "Political Adviser to the President"—who, though not little, is very wise, and does not speak nor advertise, but who may be trusted not to encourage the President (even supposing the President wax fat) to do anything rash if advice can restrain him. Nothing whatever has transpired of Dr. Morrison's sayings or doings since he took up his post three years ago, and the very absence of press information (*pace* Lord Northcliffe) is presumptive evidence that he is a safe and prudent man—as, indeed, most sane people believe already without further evidence positive or direct.

Yüan Shih-k'ai's position has already been deferentially

set forth in the following articles of this *Review*: (1) "The Chinese Revolution," July 12, 1912; (2) "The Chinese Republic," October, 1913; (3) "Yüan's Coup d'État," January, 1914; (4) "Yüan Shih-k'ai and his tasks once more," May, 1914; so that a more or less connected sketch of his evolution, however imperfect such sketch may be, can be traced therefrom; it will also be gathered therefrom what exact title the writer has to express his opinion about Yüan at all. Accordingly, on the present occasion no reference whatever to what has been written before has been or is made as an *aide-mémoire*; partly, perhaps, from the writer's undoubted and the public's suspected indolence, and partly because so long as a man says what he really means *now* it is of secondary importance and a matter of mere mental agility to argue what he really meant to say on a previous occasion; the witness who tells, or strives to tell, the truth, need never unduly shrink from a heckling by Sergeant Buzfuz in the box. Yüan's real reputation was made when, on the death of Li Hung-chang in November, 1901, he was, to everyone's surprise, appointed to the thus vacant Tientsin Viceroyalty. The value of his services in Corea, apart from his comparative absence of literary or official pedigree, was subordinate, for so completely did the contemptuous Peking Government leave the whole management of "vassal" Corean business to Li Hung-chang, that the recently published official history of the Manchu dynasty totally ignores the unsavoury details of the Moellendorff dictatorship, the Port Hamilton fiasco, the "Advisership" of Judge Denny, the sordid intrigues culminating in the flight of the King to the Russian Legation, and so on; it is doubtful even if they are in any way on official record at the Peking Foreign Board. Yüan's subsequent services as organizer of the new army at Siao-chan, near Tientsin (for the Sino-Japanese War about Corea in 1894 had practically snuffed him out of that country in disgrace) were, because honest, really valuable, though still undemonstrative, and quite subordinate; in fact, he only acquired

the right to memorialize the throne direct in December, 1898; this was after the incomparable services he rendered to the Empress-Dowager and her sister's son, Junglu, then Viceroy at Tientsin. Here, again, he simply "saw that they were treated *reet*," and a great deal of clap-trap has been written to the contrary. His next chance came as Governor of Shan Tung, where during the Boxer excitement (which from the beginning he combated and denounced) he acted not only as telegraphic intermediary between Washington, Europe, Peking, and the self-exiled Court at Si-an Fu, but also in conjunction with the Viceroys Liu K'un-yih at Nanking and Chang Chi-tung at Wu-ch'ang (Hankow) supported as supplementary adviser the efforts of the aged Li Hung-chang (nominally acting under the corrupt old Prince K'ing) to reach a common-sense understanding with the eleven foreign ministers at Peking, and gradually to bring the erring Court over to a repentant and conciliatory frame of mind. The published telegrams to and from the Mikado, the Czar, the Queen, the Kaiser, etc., are very characteristic and amusing. But the greatest services of all were rendered when, as already stated, he was, on the death of Li Hung-chang, appointed first acting and later substantive Viceroy at Tientsin. So soon as the Boxer question was in fair way of settlement, Liu K'un-yih and Chang Chi-tung presented to the Court an immensely long memorial (perhaps 40,000 words) on the utter rottenness of the Chinese administration in every possible branch. This frank statement of affairs (supported in principle by Junglu, who, holding a watching brief as a sort of dowager's or devil's advocate, was, by special decree, joined in the background with Li Hung-chang and Prince K'ing), undoubtedly also had the moral support of Yüan Shih-k'ai, whose comparatively new and junior position, however, scarcely qualified him, as a mere Governor (and not very literary at that), to attach his name officially to the joint signatures of the two veteran Viceroys, both literary

"swells" of the very first water. But when Yüan was seated unco right as Viceroy at Tientsin, he himself presented a series of excellent reform memorials, drawn up by some mute inglorious scholar in unexceptionable style, in which he notably denounced the utter fatuity of the Chinese education and examination system, and exposed in the plainest language the hopelessness of ever "making a man" of China until useful foreign instruction in practical affairs of State should take the place of this nonsensical Confucian mummary.* It must be added, however, that he has never spoken disrespectfully of Confucius himself; it is only the superstructure of modern "dogma" that he objects to. When Yüan Shih-k'ai in 1902 took over charge of Tientsin from the "six foreign *tutungs*," he had an excellent opportunity to judge from the records, accounts, and balances faithfully handed over to him what really were the main principles of effective administration. After the jollifications were over, and the *tutungs* had departed, he lost no time in putting these principles into practical force, and in a few years a complete transformation took place, Tientsin, in many respects, becoming even a rival of Shanghai. Towards the end of 1906 he was able to report to the Throne an extraordinary advance in practical education not only there, but throughout Chih Li province. When Sir Robert Hart left Peking for good in 1907, it was found, or thought, that Yüan's services would find a more useful scope at Peking, and accordingly, during that year, we find him appointed to the Presidency of the Foreign Board. This was the Constitution era, when young China was everywhere agitating for representation, and it was for some time a question whether the more

* Only in the month of August last, a Presidential mandate summarily refused the application of a high provincial General who had officially suggested that a digest of Mencius' patriotic and righteous sayings should be circulated in the armies of China; possibly the General in question had in his mind the sad effects of *Kultur* upon the German armies. Yuan said: "Our modern armies are being reared for fighting purposes, and all their time is occupied with the art of war without bothering themselves with 'principles.'"

bookish conservatives under Chang Chī-tung (then also summoned to Peking) or the more practical liberals under Yüan Shih-k'ai would prevail. A half-suppressed hostility grew up between the two men, for Chang frowned like Mr. Gladstone when he heard a "false quantity," and Yüan's "Latinity" was so-so. Meanwhile, Court zeal for reform was slackening, or perhaps becoming alarmed at "progress" made, and China was rather in a "middlin'" way when the simultaneous deaths of the Dowager and Emperor summarily brought matters to a new crisis towards the end of 1908. Undoubtedly, out of revenge for his alleged treason of 1898, the late Emperor's party, headed by his not very attractive widow, prevailed upon the Emperor's brother, the Regent (whose wife was the daughter of Junglu, by that time deceased), to dismiss Yüan "with a sore leg" to his debit. He took his disgrace with dignity, however, simply remarking to his gloomy-faced friends at the railway-station *k'an t'a-mên tsêmmo pan* ("We shall see how they will manage things"). In the autumn of 1909, more or less half-hearted attempts were made to recall Yuan, as his rival Chang Chī-tung was now dead, Prince K'ing progressing towards his dotage, and the other "elder statesmen" all at the moment unavailable for this reason or that. But Yuan would have none of it; that obstinate leg would not get well: no hole-and-corner arrangements for him. Even after the revolution of 1911, when his immediate presence was universally admitted to be urgently necessary to save both the dynasty and the country, he had manfully to "master his leg" before he arrived (apparently in prime condition, leg and all) at the Peking railway-station.

The rest is ultra-modern history, and may be gathered in a way from the four papers above cited. The "greatness" of Yüan consists not in his knowledge of political history, but in his singleness of purpose and his native honesty of mind: these qualities do not prevent him from being shrewd and even *rusé*; but there is really no reason why,

thrust upon Yüan. The vice-president, Li Yüan-hung, also seems to live in palace precincts, and, it is said, is now a family "connection" (through the marriage of their respective children) of Yüan; at Wu-ch'ang he was all-powerful, and being by natural bent as honest-minded as Yüan himself, was, and deserved to be, a dangerous potential rival, especially with the army. With consummate address Yuan seems to have secured his person "voluntarily," and to have politically emasculated him; anyhow, so far as the writer can judge, he is a nonentity, though, like Mr. Rockefeller's owl, he may think, and even wink, in silence, conscious of his potentiality. The Mongol-Tibet Agency is a powerful department under the President's own household. The next really efficient personage in the high administration appears to be Sü Shi-Ch'ang, who, as Secretary of State, now signs all presidential decrees; probably he also composes them, for Yüan's literary style suddenly assumed great dignity on Sü's appointment in May, 1914. He first appears in 1903 as one of the assistant-secretaries of the newly-created Board of Trade; he was the first Viceroy of Mukden after the "Tartar-generalship" of that place was abolished; assisted Yüan *redivivus* in military matters; was appointed guardian of the phantom Emperor a few days later. The Peking "Boards" or Departments of State, to the number of nine, instead of the old six, have at last assumed stable appellations in the following precedence: Foreign Office, Home Office, Finance (including Salt), War, Admiralty, Education, Justice, Agriculture-Trade, Communications. Then come the General Staff (Li Yüan-hung as the head of it), the Supreme Court, the Granaries, the Customs. Within the past year or two have been added the Audit Office, the Military-Naval Commandership-in-Chief, the Court of Appeal, the Government Council, the Generalissimo Headquarters (over the provincial Generals); the Waters Department (lakes, rivers, irrigation, etc.); the Mining, Coal, and Oil Department; the Frontiers Department, the Wine and

Tobacco Monopoly, the Internal Loan Department, the Currency Department, and the Parliament and Local Councils Preparatory Department—a round dozen, some of which, if permanent at all, are likely to be merged so soon as they shall have felt their way a little.

Each province has now (after many shifts and experiments) a Generalissimo and a Civil Governor of its own, instead of there being, as in Manchu times, a Viceroy over one, two, or three provinces, with or without a Governor over each such individual province; or instead of a Governor, who in many cases had no Viceroy co-ordinate with him*; the only exception is that, for the present, the Generalissimo at Mukden has a sort of supreme control over the two other Manchuria Generalissimos (Kirin and Tsitsihar); apparently this is to prevent a repetition of the Boxer confusion of 1900-1901, during which the two northern Tartar-generals "went wild" with the Russians, and repeatedly gave their Mukden colleague away—not to say the Peking Government, too—by precipitate or feeble action. The old-time Treasurer and Judge still exist in each province, but, after various experiments, they are now—especially the Law Officer—more fully under control of the Civil Governor. For some time there were four or five other high officials, but these have now been abolished as useless *ronds de cuir*: of subordinates there are now only the *taoyin* (corresponding to the old *taotai*), and the *hien*, or walled-city-district governor, as "courts below." With few exceptions the *fu* cities, *t'ing* cities, and *chou* cities have been reduced to *hien**, and thus centralization has been much simplified and freed from useless correspondence and red tape. There is no space left here to describe the important gendarmerie, judicial, and educational arrangements of each province, including the manner of central control, for China cannot organize everything effectively at once: *e pur si muove*.

* The old system, with its network of corruptions, abuses, and fatuities is carefully explained in "China, her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce," John Murray, 1901, and in "China, Past and Present," Chapman and Hall, 1903.

THE EXISTING POSITION IN ARMENIA

BY A. S. SAFRASTIAN

IN one of its weekly issues of last March, *Karagheuz*, the Turkish *Punch*, published at Constantinople, gave the following imaginary dialogue as having taken place in a café at Stamboul between a certain Ahmed and one Mehmed :

“AHMED. Have you read to-day's splendid war news ?

“MEHMED. No. Nowadays I do not read any newspapers ; yet I can follow the ups and downs of the war.

“AHMED. I am surprised to hear that ! How on earth can you live in these decisive days of war without reading about the glorious victories of our German Allies, upon which depends our very existence ?

“MEHMED. Effendim ! I do not take the trouble to read the tittle-tattle of the newspapers. I have a sure and practical method of finding out the nature of the morning's news no sooner I start from my home. If I see the Armenians walking sullenly, and with a sad and mournful countenance, I at once conclude that our brave Allies, the Germans, are victorious on all fronts. On the other hand, if the Armenians are cheerful, entering into lively conversation, and looking as if they were congratulating each other, then I take it that our enemies, the Russians and the English, are successful. It is in this simple manner that I read the day's news in the attitude of the Armenians I happen to watch.”

This characteristic presentation of the Turkish attitude towards the Armenian people is reflected in the official communication which the Turkish Government issued in neutral countries last June in answer to the threat of the Allied Powers to hold them personally and collectively responsible for any Armenian massacres. The Turkish communication said that the "Armenian movement" was to all appearance organized by Russia and England, and that they (the Turks) were taking energetic measures to secure their sovereignty and the safety of their military operations.

The futility of the whole Turkish argument, however, becomes evident in the light of the not very distant past. During the period 1894-96, when about 100,000 Armenians were massacred and double that number perished in consequence of those massacres, there was no European war, still less an Anglo-Russian co-operation with regard to the "Armenian movement."

It may perhaps be said that a plausible cause for the present Armenian massacres lies in the instinctive fear, which Sir Charles Eliot, in discussing the problem from the Turkish point of view, calls the fear of Christians: "The periodical outbreaks, formerly called "atrocities," appear to us as a cowardly slaughter of unarmed men and helpless women and children. But no doubt the average Turk regards these same events as necessary measures of self-defence."*

However absurd and ridiculous this Turkish point of view may appear to the outside world and to the victims themselves, yet it has not altered a whit the conduct of the Turks throughout the last century. It would be a mere commonplace to say that massacres of subject-Christians have been the cardinal feature of Turkish policy, and that such massacres have assumed terrible proportions when the Turks have felt that the particular portion of territory in their possession looked like slipping from under their feet. Apt instances in the past were the horrible massacres of

* "Turkey in Europe," by Sir Charles Eliot, 2nd ed., pp. 153-154.

Greeks during the years 1821-27; those of the Slavs and Bulgarians in the Balkans during 1875-77. Similar fears seem to be at work in producing the latest massacres of Armenians. The severe measures adopted by the Turkish Government in the form of wholesale deportations of Armenian communities into the uninhabited deserts of Mesopotamia and to the unhealthy swamps of Asia Minor, appear to exceed in volume and frightfulness any other persecution yet conceived by these adepts in inhumanity. They have already broken the record of their past exploits.

The tragedy of the Armenian sufferers is still further enhanced by the fact that it was undertaken in the midst of this great war, when all the great European nations are enmeshed in a life and death struggle; and when the Turks themselves have sided with those Powers that have the least inclination to support the Armenian Question, against the Powers of the Triple Entente which have at least taken the initiative on the subject of Armenian reforms.

Enver Pasha is reported to have said in a recent interview that the Turks were going to consolidate the power of Turkey by disposing of all Christian elements in the Empire: the Armenians first, and then all other Christians, including even the Germans! Whatever may have been the sum total of the recent massacres, abductions, and deportations, the rulers of Turkey have set themselves a task which may involve the very existence of at least 1,500,000 Armenians throughout Turkey.

Bearing in mind the traditional Turkish policy of massacres of subject-Christians, and the opportunities offered to the Turks by the European War for achieving their object, one half of the problem seems clear to one's understanding. The remaining half of the criminal process of Armenian extermination seems to be simple to grasp, and may be summarized in a few statements of facts as it has been possible to verify them by the light thrown on the subject from authoritative sources. To give exact figures is impossible, as only the vilayet of Van, and parts of Bitlis and

Erzeroum have already been cleared of Turks, after having changed hands twice. These provinces constitute the main battle-ground, as in the past, of the Russo-Turkish struggle ; and as the conditions of Armenians in the war zone is closely connected with the vicissitudes of the campaign, a few words about the operations on the Transcaucasian front would enable us to grasp the situation better.

Last October, as soon as Russia declared war on Turkey in consequence of the latter's provocative acts, the Caucasian Army at once invaded the districts of Alashkerd and Passin (Erzeroum), as well as those of Bayazid and Bashkalé (Van). The Turks in their hasty retreat massacred almost all Armenian peasants in those districts after seizing all their young women and valuables that they could lay hands on.

Then in December the Turks commenced a strong counter-attack, and invaded even the Russian districts of Ardahan and Sarykamsch, which in January resulted in the Turkish rout at those two battles. The Russians then recommenced to clear the Turks gradually right up to the outer defences of Erzeroum, and from all territory eastwards and southwards. In July last the Turks again started a powerful offensive all along the front, and reoccupied the territory they had lost since January.

On the front towards Van, the main force of the Russian Army consisted of Armenian Volunteer regiments under Andranik, then some 7,000 strong, who, supported by Russian Cossacks, drove the Turks from Azerbaijan. During the course of these operations, in February, Djevdet Bey, the Vali of Van and a brother-in-law of Enver Pasha, approached the Armenian leaders of the town and asked them to write to Andranik in the name of the Dashnaksuthiun party and urge him to refrain from joining the Russians and fighting against the Turks. Vramian, the Armenian deputy of Van in the Turkish Chamber, told the Vali that he would certainly forward such a request, stating, at the same time, that it would scarcely have any effect, as the Volunteers

were Russian Armenians and were naturally doing their duty, as the Turkish Armenians were doing theirs. Negotiations dragged on for some time for the delivery of a few hundred Armenian deserters from the Turkish Army, who had escaped from service in consequence of the brutal treatment of their Turkish officers. In the meantime sporadic encounters took place between the Turks and the Armenian deserters until the beginning of April, when the Turkish plan of Armenian extermination was maturing at Constantinople. Sealed orders were sent from the capital to the provinces for a simultaneous descent on the Armenian population throughout the country. All intellectual leaders and public men were imprisoned or deported on baseless charges. In Van all males of military age were arrested at night in the cazas of Ardjish, Adiljevas, Akhlat, etc., on the north of Lake Van, and were shot in batches of ten. The Turks proceeded to carry out the same plan in the city of Van and all along the southern shores of the lake. It was then that the Armenians sprang to arms for mere self-defence. After a month's stout fighting, Djevdet Bey and his 6,000 troops were expelled from the city, and their guns and stores captured. In Shatakh, Moks, and Khizan, south of the lake, Armenians everywhere defended themselves for fifty days, until their Volunteer regiments, followed by the Russian forces, came to their rescue. The Vali and his defeated army, in their retreat towards Bitlis, massacred every Armenian they found, in some cases driving the women and children before them. Massacres on a large scale were carried out in Bitlis, Mush, Boulanik, Khinis, and immediately behind the Turkish firing-lines. A representative of the National Bureau at Tiflis, who visited the stricken area in June, after carefully compiling figures for the above districts, computes that at least 50,000 Armenians were massacred in the above districts alone, and about a hundred villages were completely wiped out. Further west and south, in Erzeroum, Kharput, Sivas, and Diarbekir, massacres so far seem to have been partial ; but

the deportations to unknown destinations of public men, and of the masses to Mesopotamia, has been ruthlessly cruel.

In Cilicia, in the eastern Mediterranean, a first attempt by the Turks to overpower the Armenians of Zeitoun failed in February. Then Djemal Pasha, the would-be hero of the Syrian army, reserved for the invasion of the Suez Canal, on failing to achieve his expected victory in Egypt, turned his attention towards Zeitoun, this home of brave mountaineers who, since the extinction of the Armenian Rupenian kingdom in 1393, had jealously maintained some measure of semi-independence in their mountains. Considering the sacrifices and difficulties a campaign against Zeitoun would involve, German officers are credited with having promised, through some Armenian Protestant pastors, immunity from harm if the Zeitounlis refrained from attacking. Apparently relying on the word of these Germans, the natives allowed the Turkish army to hold the lower ridges of their fastnesses. Having established themselves in lower Zeitoun, the Turks at once set to work to disarm the Armenians who, however, saw through the ruse, held to their arms, and fought for several days; but towards the end of May they were overwhelmed by large Turkish forces and ruthlessly put to the sword. Similar treatment was also meted out to the Armenians at Deurt-Yol, Hadjin, and to some extent at Marash and other centres in Cilicia (north-east of Adana and north-west of Aleppo). Some 30,000 unoffending civilians have since been deported to the desert of Deir-el-Zor from Cilicia alone. From Constantinople itself some 500 public men—lawyers, writers, journalists, merchants, and deputies—have been deported into Moslem centres in Asia Minor. The well-known deputies Zohrab and Vartkis have already succumbed to the hardships entailed by the march. Twenty Armenians have been hanged in the Turkish capital, twenty at Diarbekir, seven at Sivas, twelve at Kaiserieh, and several others elsewhere, for “having designed the creation of an independent Armenia.” According to the Italian

ex-Consul-General of Trebizond, all Armenians along the shores of the Black Sea have either been massacred, drowned, or deported to unknown destinations. The population of Erzeroum has mostly been deported to Mosul, hundreds of miles away.

At Shabin-Karahissar, the Armenians made a desperate attempt at self-defence. The Turks brought heavy reinforcements and artillery and overwhelmed the resistance. On the surrender of the women and children, 4,000 of them were massacred in a manner which defies description.

At Sassoun, in the easternmost ranges of the Taurus, some 15,000 natives, reinforced by thousands of Armenian refugees from Mush, have been fighting for life since May last. The recent withdrawal of Russian and Armenian regiments from the Euphrates valley removed all possibility of reaching Sassoun and rescuing these brave natives of the country, who may hold out perhaps for another month.

Summing up all this information which has been derived from various and reliable sources, it would not be wide of the mark to state that about 100,000 Armenians have already been massacred since last April; perhaps some 50,000 women and children have been converted to Islam and made to "marry" Turks; and about 800,000 have been deported from their homes into Mesopotamia and Asia Minor.* The process of deportation is one of the most cruel and diabolical devices the Turks have ever invented: families are broken up in such a manner as to destroy them altogether, and make their reunion an impossibility. The hardships of long marches through waterless deserts, and the sufferings of the weak and sick, are so terrible that scarcely one-third of these wretched people ever reach their destination.

The Turks have, in this manner, already accounted for about two-thirds of the entire Armenian population in

* The last figure has been taken from a French official wireless message, which was issued here by the Press Bureau on the 14th instant.

Turkey, and are still continuing their murderous work, which will stand unparalleled in the history of humanity.

A great deal has been said about the complicity of German officials in Turkey with regard to these Armenian atrocities. What one would wish to add at the present moment is, that considering the military philosophy of Germany as applied in Belgium, it is not to be wondered that the Germans are unscrupulously exploiting the fighting value of the Turk by encouraging and giving free scope to the murderous instincts of the latter with regard to subject-Christians.

In this hour of supreme trial and martyrdom of the Armenian people, the problem confronting all lovers of humanity, fairness, and justice, is, of course, the saving of the remnant from the wreckage. A unanimous expression of horror and abhorrence felt by the civilized world in the neutral countries, and in the United States in particular, coupled with a public denunciation of German complicity in the crime of annihilating one of the oldest Christian races, might perhaps bring a blush of shame to the Teuton abettor, and might ultimately bring the Turkish criminals to reason.

MANIFESTO OF THE GREEK SOCIALIST PARTY

TRANSLATED BY F. R. SCATCHERD

GREECE IN DANGER

GREEK SOCIALIST PARTY.

LABOUR LEAGUE OF GREECE,
40, RUE PIREE,
ATHENS, GREECE.

THE Executive Committee feels it a duty to place on record the conviction of the Greek Socialist Party that Greece is placing herself in peril by remaining neutral during the present world conflict between the nations.

It is the fundamental principle of Socialism that the working-classes constitute the nation, and the Greek Socialist Party is naturally anxious with regard to the political existence and independence of the working-classes of Greece.

The Executive Committee is compelled to make the following declarations, not only to enlighten those members led astray by the influence of Pseudo-Socialists, but also to exhort all Greeks to face heroically the danger which menaces the country, and to rally for its defence.

Any Great Power manifesting desires for conquest and domination constitutes an imminent peril for the principles of Democracy and Progress, because it threatens the rights and political liberties acquired by the workers at such tremendous sacrifices. Without favouring one or the other of the belligerents, a Socialist is in duty bound to promote the triumph of democratic principles, and must make use of

every proffered opportunity to promote that triumph. Socialist will understand that it will be impossible to ensue peace without the total destruction of Prussian Militarism which threatens the extinction of the spirit of Democracy. Socialism is international, not anti-national. Each nationality must exist as an independent political unity before it is possible to realize the fraternity of nations.

The Executive Committee vigorously protests against the Pro-German intrigues which weaken the Hellenic love of liberty, and it appeals to Greece to abandon with the possible speed a neutrality which constitutes a national shame as well as a national peril.

Our nation is in danger because the existence of all nations is threatened by this war of conquest.

The Powers allied against Germany invoke the principles of liberty, fraternity, equality—those very principles which constitute the soul of Socialism. Consequently as Socialists it is our interest to help the Allies, while as Greeks we must adhere to those principles—they constitute the sole guarantee of our future as a nation.

It is manifest that the Allies have drawn their sword on behalf of liberty, but have moreover solemnly declared that they will utilize victory to secure the permanent independence of nationalities, and consequent universal peace. On the other hand, Germany proclaims herself the Mistress of Europe.

Only the coalition of all those who are threatened can secure the overthrow of Germany's project. This coalition is necessary, not only for the triumph of the principles of national independence and fraternity, but also in order to free the German nation from Kaiserism.

Political liberty, autonomy, national independence, are fundamental principles of Socialism. As political liberty is insufficient, lacking economic freedom, so economic freedom is unattainable apart from political liberty.

The present war in no respect resembles the previous wars of history. We are witnessing the greatest, the most

destructive, cataclysm of this planet. It is the end of a world. It is the prelude to that world-wide Revolution which we Socialists have so long expected. At this moment every intelligent Socialist finds himself confronted with a dilemma. He must choose one of the two alternatives : the crude Prussian spirit of a blind mechanism transforming human beings into soulless machines, and the organized liberty which in this supreme moment is represented by the Entente coalition. And again the choice lies between that model of bureaucratic tyranny the Teutonic Empire, a model based upon mediæval Catholicism, and the Federation of the States of the British Empire based on the ideal of the Achaic League.

The small nations can contemplate, full of hope, the ideal of organized liberty since it is a guarantee of national integrity. The annihilation of this ideal would mean annihilation of Democracy and the deathblow of human progress.

The assured solidarity between the Federated States of the British Empire and the glorious Republic of France is an omen of happiest augury since England has matured and France has proclaimed the principles of liberty, fraternity, and equality. It cannot be otherwise than that these ideas will be realized by the Anglo-French triumph in the present war. Hellenism and Socialism alike have nothing to gain, but all to lose in the event of German victory or premature peace.

* * * * *

With regard to Russia, she has solemnly declared, and magnificently follows, a policy of loyal co-operation with the English, French, and Belgian Democracies. All the nations who are subjugated by tyrants will be liberated as the result of the victory of the Quadruple Entente.

For our nation, the present epoch resembles that of 1821. Regas, at this moment, speaks in trumpet tones to the whole Greek nation. All other interest falls into the background in the face of this supreme crisis for

Hellenism. Every Greek merchant or workman, learned or simple, plutocrat or proletarian, socialist or liberal, can have but one idea as in 1821, that of revolt against the tyrant, of taking up arms for the saving of his threatened country. For Greece the alarm has sounded. We must all hasten to the rescue. Greece can only hope for the desired salvation when she heroically decides to identify her destiny with those Powers who, nearly a century ago, crowned the ten years' struggle of the Hellenic nation for liberty by the abolition of the Turkish rule in Greece.

(These declarations were passed by the Executive Committee of the 3rd of August, and were then published as its official expression.)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submit the following Report of the work of the Association for the year 1914-15.

During the year forty-five new Members were elected, of whom twenty-one were Indians and twenty-four Europeans. Twenty Members resigned and nine died. Several of those who resigned alleged as a reason for retiring the necessity for economizing in all possible directions during the continuance of the War. But it is gratifying to record that, notwithstanding the War, the number of resignations has been only slightly in excess of the average, and that the net increase in membership during the year amounts to fifteen.

The most outstanding fact of the year has been the magnificent rally of India round the Flag, and this rally formed the subject of an eloquent address delivered before the Association under the Presidentship of Sir O'Moore Creagh (lately Commander-in-Chief in India), by Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, I.C.S. (retired). The lecturer showed how splendidly India had responded to her King-Emperor's call, and how deeply the Indian Army had been moved by His Majesty's simple words: "I look to all my Indian soldiers to uphold the *izzat* of the Raj against an aggressive and relentless enemy." At the same time Sir O'Moore Creagh bore witness to the inborn loyalty of

the people of India, to the gallantry of her Soldiery, and to the devotion and fidelity of her Chiefs.

At a subsequent meeting, when Colonel Phillott lectured on "Some of the Military Castes of the Indian Army," General Sir Alfred Gaselee, who presided, said: "We, for the first time in our history, have the Indian Army serving side by side with ours in Europe, and it is undoubtedly a very memorable occasion both for the British and for the Indian race, and it will no doubt have very wide results in the future which we cannot at present see. However, whatever comes, there is this fact. Our Indian troops have responded—the Maharajas and the peoples of India have responded—most nobly to the call of Empire, and it now behoves us to do all we can to make the troops happy and comfortable during the time they are serving with us in Europe. It may not be the right time for an appeal to the public, but I should just like to mention now the Indian Soldiers' Fund, as I happen to be a member of the Committee."

The Association was able to contribute £50 towards this Fund. Many members have contributed directly or through the Association, and contributions still continue to be collected.

Referring to the desirability of disseminating correct news with regard to the causes and course of the war, Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee drew the attention of Council to the services rendered to the Crown and to the people of India by Her Highness the Maharani of Bhaunagar in publishing a weekly Journal setting forth facts connected with the War. The Hon. Secretary was directed to convey to Her Highness the Council's high appreciation of her action. An answer was received from Her Highness thanking the Council for their good wishes for the success of her efforts on behalf of truth and loyalty and the welfare of India.

The year was marked by the death of Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, who had been for many years a Vice-

President of this Association, and the following resolution (proposed by Sir Arundel T. Arundel, and seconded by Mr. W. Coldstream) was placed on record and communicated to Lady Roberts :

“ The Council of the East India Association has received with profound grief the intelligence of the death of Lord Roberts, and desires to express its deep sympathy with Lady Roberts and her family in a sorrow which is shared by the whole of the British Empire. Lord Roberts was the first Soldier of his age, and his Country will treasure for ever the memory of his priceless services in times of national crisis. He secured not only the admiration, but also the reverence and affection, of his fellow-countrymen—above all, of his fellow-soldiers, by whom he was idolized. In forgetfulness of himself and his great age, his last act was one of unselfish devotion, and while visiting and welcoming his beloved Indian troops on the field of battle and within the sound of the guns he has passed to his rest.”

It may be recalled that it was only last year Lord Roberts took the chair at the reading before this Association of Sir Guilford Molesworth's paper on “ The Battle of the Gauges.”

The Council conveyed to the Governor-General of India, Lord Hardinge, an expression of their sympathy on the death of Lady Hardinge.

No fresh leaflets were issued during the year, but “ More Truths about India ” were compiled by Mr. J. B. Pennington, and published in book form (under the authority of the Association), with a preface by the Right Hon. the Lord Reay. These books were supplied gratis to newspapers, public libraries and institutions at home and in India, and 500 copies of the first volume (“ Truths about India ”) were distributed gratis to the Fleet.

Colonel C. E. Yate, a Member of Council, kindly

presented the Association with a copy of his "Khurasan and Sistan," and it is to be hoped other members will follow his example by adding copies of their works to the library of the Association.

The papers read before the Association during the year were of exceptional interest, as evidenced by the large attendances, and those on Sanitation, Development of Cotton Cultivation and Well and Canal Irrigation are likely to prove of special use and benefit to the people of India. The Council tender their hearty thanks to all the Lecturers. Papers promised are now announced on the invitation cards; but it may not be known that the Literary Committee would always be glad to receive papers from contributors in India, and to arrange for their being read before the Association in cases where the Authors cannot read them in person.

The following papers were read during the year :

May 27, 1914.—"The Position of Sanitation in the Administration of India," by Colonel W. G. King, C.I.E., I.M.S. (retired, formerly Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Madras). Professor W. J. Simpson, C.M.G., in the chair.

June 17, 1914.—"The Press in India," by S. K. Ratcliffe, Esq. (formerly of the *Statesman*, Calcutta). Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., in the chair (in the absence of the Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.).

July 27, 1914.—"Development of Cotton in India : Sind a Second Egypt," by Dr. T. Summers, C.I.E., D.Sc., M.I.C.E. Sir Walter C. Hughes, C.I.E., in the chair.

November 9, 1914.—"The Gods of the Hindus," by R. A. Leslie Moore, Esq., I.C.S. (retired). Sir Andrew Wingate, K.C.I.E., in the chair.

November 23, 1914.—"India's Rally Round the Flag," by A. Yusuf Ali, Esq., I.C.S. (retired). General Sir O'Moore Creagh, V.C., G.C.B., in the chair.

December 14, 1914.—“Some of the Military Castes of the Indian Army,” by Colonel D. C. Phillott. General Sir Alfred Gaselee, G.C.B., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

January 18, 1915.—“Wells for Irrigation in India,” by E. A. Molony, Esq., I.C.S. The Right Hon. Lord Sydenham, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., in the chair.

February 15, 1915.—“Impressions of India,” by the Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P. The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D., in the chair.

March 8, 1915.—“India after the War, from the Economic Standpoint,” by Sir Daniel Mackinnon Hamilton. Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., in the chair (in the absence of Sir Andrew Fraser, K.C.S.I.).

April 19, 1915.—“Indirect Benefits of Irrigation not Generally Recognized,” by Henry Marsh, Esq., C.I.E., M.I.C.E. The Right Hon. Lord Macdonnell, G.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., P.C., in the chair.

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

1. P. D. Acharya, Esq.
2. M. A. Azim, Esq.
3. J. H. Boraston, Esq.
4. C. J. Burrow, Esq.
5. James Richard Baillie, Esq.
6. Amar Nath Bhasin, Esq., M.A.
7. Vithal Shivaram Bhide, Esq.
8. Thomas Henry Stillingfleet Biddulph, Esq., C.I.E.
9. S. A. Bhisey, Esq.
10. Sir Valentine Chirol.
11. Arthur Jules Dash, Esq.
12. H. K. De, Esq.
13. J. F. Barling Fisher, Esq.
14. Bihari Lal Gupta, Esq., C.S.I.
15. Tulsi Chandra Goswami, Esq.

16. H. M. Haywood, Esq.
17. William Stirling Hamilton, Esq.
18. Robert Charles Hobart, Esq.
19. Mrs. Haigh.
20. M. W. Hassanally, Esq.
21. Charles St. John Ives, Esq.
22. Fakirjee N. Ilavna, Esq.
23. Khaja Ismail, Esq.
24. Robert Batson Joyner, Esq., C.I.E.
25. Major William Magill Kennedy.
26. Krishna Kurup, Esq.
27. William Charles Foster Leggatt, Esq.
28. D. M. Lala, Esq.
29. Dudley Borron Myers, Esq.
30. G. D. Maracan, Esq.
31. Babington Bennett Newbould, Esq.
32. Charles Herbert Payne, Esq.
33. P. Phillipowsky, Esq.
34. The Rev. Frank Penny, LL.M.
35. M. Rafieuddin, Esq.
36. Charles Roberts, Esq., M.P.
37. R. M. V. S. Rao, Esq.
38. Syed Abdus Samad, Esq.
39. The Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma.
40. Thomas Summers, Esq., C.I.E., M.I.C.E.
41. Edward Little Sale, Esq.
42. Henry Shuldham Shaw, Esq.
43. E. H. Tabak, Esq.
44. Thakurdas Vasanmal Thadani, Esq.
45. Gobindbux Vazirmal Utamsing, Esq., B.A.

The following have resigned membership during the year :

Khan Saheb Khwajah Mohammud Azam.
A. S. M. Anik, Esq.
Sir Edward Charles Buck, K.C.S.I.
Alfred Brereton, Esq., C.S.I.

Herbert Batty, Esq.
The Right Hon. Lord Charnwood.
Sir James McCrone Douie, K.C.S.I.
Alexander Henderson Diack, Esq., C.V.O.
Colonel Sir Thomas H. Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.
B. F. Jalnevala, Esq.
Charles Edward Mallet, Esq.
William Nawton Maw, Esq.
Jamnadas M. Mehta, Esq.
Joseph Houldsworth Oldham, Esq.
Rao Sahib Mattada Rama Rao.
M. Vencata Rao, Esq.
Alexander Montagu Stowe, Esq.
Sir George Casson Walker, K.C.S.I.
George Edward Campbell Wakefield, Esq.
J. A. Wadia, Esq.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members:

James Augustine Brandon, Esq.
The Right Hon. Arthur Cohen, K.C.
Sir Herbert William Cameron Carnduff, C.I.E.
Robert H. Elliot, Esq.
Eric Stuart Matthews, Esq.
Reginald Murray, Esq.
Mrs. Catherine M. Shaw.
Robert H. Vincent, Esq., C.I.E.
Raja Kerela Varma, C.S.I.
G. E. Ward, Esq.

Sir Daniel Mackinnon Hamilton has been co-opted a Member of Council ; and the following Members retire by rotation :

The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E.
T. J. Bennett, Esq., C.I.E.
C. E. Buckland, Esq., C.I.E.
Sir Walter Charleton Hughes, C.I.E.

John Pollen, Esq., C.I.E.

Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.

Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P.

These gentlemen are willing, if re-elected, to continue to serve, and it is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to Council.

The Accounts show a balance of £226 5s. 10d. (including cash and postage in hand), as compared with £303 6s. 4d. last year.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Forty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the East India Association was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, S.W., on the afternoon of Tuesday, June 29, 1915, at 3.15 p.m., when the Annual Report was considered and the Accounts passed.

SIR Krishna Gupta, K.C.S.I., occupied the chair, and the following members were present: Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. N. N. Wadia, Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. Albert Bruce-Joy, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. P. Phillpowsky, Miss Wade, and Dr John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

THE HON. SECRETARY: Gentlemen, I regret to inform you that Lord Reay is unable to be present at our meeting to-day. He has gone away to Scotland, and could not get back in time. I have also to tell you that Sir Arundel Arundel is absent in Wales, and he too cannot be with us to-day. The Right Hon. Ameer Ali also cannot be with us, but I am glad to say Sir Krishna Gupta has kindly consented to take the chair on this occasion.

The Hon Secretary also read a letter from Sir Arundel, saying how grieved he was to hear of the sudden death of Mr. Chisholm, a Member of Council, whom he had known for many years. Mr. Chisholm (he said) had been Government Architect in Madras, and had introduced great advances in architectural design. It was he who had designed the offices of the Board of Revenue, the University, the Post-Office, the Victoria Hall and various commercial buildings. Mr. Chisholm had also been the Head of the School of Art, and in private life he was remarkable for his versatile gifts in music, painting and acting, and he was a man of many friends.

Dr. Pollen also added his own personal tribute to the memory of R. F. Chisholm, who was well known in Bombay and Baroda as a great architect and a charming personality, and Dr. Pollen expressed his great gratitude to the deceased for the ready and genial help always accorded in matters connected with the East India Association.

By unanimous consent of the meeting the Report and Accounts were taken as read.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, we have not got a very large audience; but, as one of my friends remarked when I came into the room, what is lacking in quantity is made up by the abundance of quality. It is rather a pity I have to occupy the chair on this occasion owing to the unavoidable absence of Lord Reay and Sir Arundel Arundel. I feel I am a very poor substitute and therefore you must not expect anything very big from me, accustomed as you are to such speakers as Lord Reay. There will be one merit about my remarks, however, and that is that they will be very brief.

The Report, which you have all read, shows the excellent work that the Association has done during the year; and even as regards membership—although most of the Institutions in this country during these hard times have had to suffer from loss of members—the Association is able, after making full allowance for resignations and deaths, to record an advance of sixteen members over that of last year. Then as regards finance, we are, on the whole, in a very solvent condition, and that is more than can be said of many other Institutions during this troublous year. The resources have been very carefully husbanded, as appears from the fact that we have a fairly substantial balance left in our hands. Although the balance compares rather unfavourably with that of last year, you must remember the expenditure included the extraordinary sum of £50 paid to the Indian Soldiers' Fund, and if you allow for that the difference is not very great.

Then we have also a very long list of valuable and interesting papers which have been read from time to time during the year; but, when all is said and done, the success of an Institution of this sort depends a great deal on the energy and the capacity of the Secretary. (Hear, hear.) And in that regard we are very fortunate in having in Dr. Pollen an almost ideal Secretary. I have known him for a long time—I do not wish to refer to the period of our first acquaintance, because I am afraid you will doubt my statement, especially when you look at him and find how youthful and vigorous he looks—but I have known him for many years, and I do not think there are many people here who do not know him, and he has, by his popularity, sympathy, and energy and all the other good qualities with which he has been amply endowed, done excellent work for the Association—(hear, hear)—and enhanced the efficiency of this Association by promoting the objects for which it was originally founded. I take it that one of the main objects of the Association is to bring about a better understanding between this country and India—(hear, hear)—and by the publication of the various pamphlets which are known as “Truths about India,” the Association has done a great deal to throw light upon a great many obscure subjects, and also to put the truth clearly before the public view, and in this regard I must mention the name of Mr. Pennington. (Hear, hear.) But you will forgive me if in this connection I say something which may not appear very pleasant to some of you—I hope it will not be so, but I fear it may be so—because the efforts of the Association for the enlightenment of public opinion have so far been directed in one direction, and that is more to enlighten and instruct Indian public opinion; because many of the misconceptions which have been exposed in these small publications are more for the Indian mind; but I believe there

is a field for work in the other direction also—(hear, hear)—and that there are misconceptions in this country in regard to Indian views and Indian thoughts. To take casually only one thing, for instance, I find very often speakers of great repute in this country unhesitatingly run down the value of English education in India, whereas to my mind one of the greatest blessings that England has conferred upon India is the introduction of English education. Lord Macaulay used to be very severe upon us, especially to the people of the province to which I belong; but in spite of that, every Indian is greatly indebted to him for the victory he won in the conflicts which took place as to what should be the education to be given in India, and what form it should take.

There has also been a good deal of misconception as to the attitude of the educated classes in India. Before this war it used to be taken almost for granted that the educated classes, with a few exceptions, were disloyal, and that they were at the root of all the mischief and unrest in India; but this war, in spite of its many evils, has brought to light some good things also, and one of them is this: That it has furnished a complete vindication of the Indian educated classes; their attitude from the first has been one of great loyalty, a desire for co-operation with the Government, and I think the Government will realize—and I do hope the English public will also realize—that in keeping the masses in control, and keeping them from the evils of bazaar gossip and rumour, the educated classes, and many of the vernacular papers, have done excellent work. Therefore, if one of the objects of the Association could be to draw British attention to Indian views on various questions, and also give some insight into Indian hopes and aspirations, it will have fulfilled its duty in a more marked degree than if it carried on a propaganda of only one sort. (Hear, hear.)

Then in the Report, I find a quotation from one of the speeches made when a paper was read before this Association by Colonel Phillott. This speech ends with this sentence: "Our Indian troops have responded—the Maharajas and the peoples of India have responded—most nobly to the call of Empire, and it now behoves us to do all we can to make the troops happy and comfortable during the time they are serving with us in Europe." Well, to my mind, this last sentence seems to me to be rather feeble after all that has been said. I do not think the matter ought to end there, and after the war I hope the military question will be considered from a sympathetic and broad-minded point of view, and that efforts will be made to bring into line the military resources of India to an extent that was never known before. In India England has got a reserve, at any rate of men, which can never be surpassed by any other Empire in the world, and she has only to find means to train them—to bring them to the front line—and then there will be no question as regards want of men, and we must also remember that in order to do this she must give more scope to the aims of the India people in regard to military matters. On the civil side we are aware that there is not a single post which is not open to Indians, and most of the appointments have at one time or other been occupied by Indians. In that respect we have less to complain of. In regard to military matters I am quite aware that there are difficulties in the way, but still difficulties

should not stop improvement and progress altogether. In military affairs, as you are all aware, Indians have hitherto occupied a very subordinate position. The matter will have to be remedied, and adequate scope given to the military aspirations of the Indian people. In that way the war will have done good in cementing the Empire to an extent never known before, and in bringing the Indians and the British into a bond of fellowship and good feeling.

In conclusion, I hope you will take my remarks in the spirit in which they have been made. As you know, I owe much to the British Government and I do not suppose there can be anyone more loyal than myself, yet at the same time I should be disloyal to the British Government if I did not tell them frankly and openly what the Indians feel, and what their aspirations are, and what measures should be taken to give effect to them. (Hear, hear.)

Before I sit down I must say a word with regard to Lord Roberts, whose death we all deplore, and who all along showed the greatest sympathy in the work of this Association. I was present at the meeting to which reference has been made, and we little thought at that time that within a few months he would be no more; and I am sure you will all join with me in expressing our deepest regret for the loss of a man who was invaluable to this country, particularly at this moment.

I now beg to move the adoption of the Report as read.

MR. OWEN DUNN seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Owen Dunn then proposed his lordship, Lord Reay, as President for the ensuing year. He said it had been a great honour to have his lordship as President for so long, and Lord Reay had always taken the deepest interest in the Association from very early days, and no one could be more welcome than his lordship as President, if he would be good enough to accept re-election.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE asked if it was required by the rules of the Association that the President should be elected every year?

THE HON. SECRETARY: Yes, it is.

SIR ROBERT FULTON then seconded the proposal, which was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Proposed by DR. POLLEN, seconded by MR. PENNINGTON, that Mr. Henry Marsh be elected Member of Council; carried unanimously.

THE HON. SECRETARY: The following are the retiring members, and they are all willing to be re-elected, if they are called upon: The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., T. J. Bennett, Esq., C.I.E., C. E. Buckland, Esq., C.I.E., Sir Walter Charleton Hughes, C.I.E., John Pollen, Esq., C.I.E., Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P.

Proposed by MR. OWEN DUNN that they be re-elected; seconded by MR. SESSODIA, and carried unanimously.

THE HON. SECRETARY: We have two more vacancies to fill if any has any names to propose. If not you can leave it to the Council to co-opt.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE, in proposing a vote of thanks to the

Chairman, said he thought the Council had exercised a very wise discretion in selecting Sir Krishna Gupta to preside in the absence of their distinguished President, Lord Reay, and the Chairman of the Council, Lord Lamington. The wisdom of the choice had been amply vindicated by the very excellent speech they had just heard from him. (Hear, hear.) He had made a very valuable contribution to those new ideas in the interests of India which the Association ought always to welcome, and he wished to associate himself with him in the suggestion that the Indian side of the connection with Great Britain, and the aspirations and claims of the people, should also find expression in the series of papers known as "Truths about India." Such treatment of the subject would be not only an act of justice, but of real Imperial service, and it would do good to the Association itself by drawing attention to its work in a larger measure than is the case at present amongst the peoples of India.

Sir Mancherjee added that he would like to associate himself, having had the honour and privilege of being closely acquainted with the late Mr. Chisholm for many years past, with the very just and well-deserved tribute paid to him in the letter from Sir Arundel Arundel which had been read by their Secretary. Mr. Chisholm was a man of great genialty; he had a very distinguished career in India, and owing to the sympathetic interest he retained for that country up to the last his loss was one that cannot easily be replaced.

The proposal was seconded by MR. THORBURN, put to the meeting and carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN Thank you all very much. I know how unworthy I am, but I quite appreciate your kindness.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

* Denotes life member. † Student member.

Acharya, P. D.

Aga Khan, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., H.H. the Aga Sultan Sir
Mahomed Shah.

Aikman, David Wann.

Aikman, LL.D., Sir Robert Smith.

Aiyangar, M.A., S. Krishnasvami.

Aiyar, The Hon. T. V. Seshagiri.

Aiyer, C.I.E., The Hon. P. S. Sivaswami.

Ali, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.HIST.SOC., F.R.S.L., F.R.G.S.,
Nawabzadah A. F. M. Abdul.

Ali, The Hon. Khan Bahadur Mir Asad.

Ameer Ali, C.I.E., LL.D., The Right Hon. Syed.

Amphill, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., The Right Hon. Lord.

Anderson, James Drummond.

Aplin, D.S.O., Colonel Philip John Hanham.

Archer, C.S.I., C.I.E., Lieutenant-Colonel Charles.

Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Arundel T.

Ashton, Hubert Shorrocks.

Aston, M.A., Arthur Henry Southcote.

Athim, Samuel.

†Azim, M. A.

Baillie, K.C.S.I., Sir Duncan Colvin.

Baillie, James Richard.

*Balrampur, K.C.I.E., The Hon. Maharaja Sir Bhag-
wati Prasad Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of.

- Bamber, M.V.O., H. Kelway-
Banganapalle, Saiyid Ghulam Ali Khan Bahadur,
Nawab of.
Bannerjee, C.I.E., Albion Rajkumar.
†Bannerjee, K. C.
Bansi, Raja Ratan Sen Singh, Raja of.
Barrow, Frank Hunter.
Batty, Herbert.
Begbie, Sir James.
Begg, F.R.I.B.A., John.
Bell, Charles Alfred.
Bell, C.I.E., M.A., William.
Bennett, C.I.E., Thomas Jewell.
Benson, Sir Ralph Sillery.
Beverley, Henry.
*Bhaunagar, K.C.S.I., H.H. Sir Bhavsinghji Takht-
singhji, Thakur Sahib of.
Bhazin, M.A., Amar Nath.
Bhide, Vithal Shivaram.
†Bhisey, S. A.
Bhiwandivalla, Khan Bahadur Hormusji Maneckji.
Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M.
Biddulph, C.I.E., Thomas Henry Stillingfleet.
Bikaner, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., A.D.C., Colonel H.H. Sir
Ganga Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of.
Bilgrami, C.S.I., Saiyid Husain.
Bilimoria, Ardeshir Jamsetjee.
Bill, John Hugo Hepburn.
*Bobbili, G.C.I.E., Sir Venkata Svetachalapati Ranga
Rao, Maharaja of.
Bolton, C.S.I., Charles Walter.
Boman-Behram, R. B.
Bomanji, Dhanjibhoy.
Boraston, J. H.
Bowring, Ignatius William.
Braithwaite, W. D.
Brown, George Eustace Riou Grant.

Brown, William Barclay.

Bruce-Joy, R.H.A., F.R.G.S., Albert.

Buckland, C.I.E., Charles Edward.

*Burdwan, I.O.M., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., The Hon. Sir Bijay
Chand Mahtab, Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of.

Burrow, C. J.

Butler, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., The Hon. Sir Spencer Har-
court.

Cadambi, S.

Cameron, Duncan Grant.

*Campbell, C.I.E., Archibald Young Gipps.

Campbell, Charles Stewart.

Carlyle, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Robert Warrand.

Carmichael, G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., His Excellency the
Right Hon. Lord.

Carr, Reginald Childers Culling.

Chajuram, Dewan Bahadur Tiwari.

Chamba, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., H.H. Raja Sir Bhure Singh,
Maharaja of.

Chamier, Francis Capper.

Chand, The Hon. Rai Bahadur Hari.

Chand, Rai Bahadur Gokal.

Chand, C.S.I., C.I.E., Rai Bahadur Nanak.

Chandavarkar, Sir Narayen Ganesh.

Chatterton, C.I.E., The Hon. Mr. Alfred.

Chaubal, C.S.I., The Hon. Mr. Mahadev Bhaskar.

Chirol, Sir Valentine.

Chisholm, F.R.I.B.A., Robert F.

Chothia, Manchershaw B.

Chowdbury, Raja Manmathanath Roy.

Christie, Lieutenant-Colonel James Harry.

Clark, K.C.S.I., C.M.G., The Hon. Sir William Henry.

Clark, Sir William Ovens.

Cleghorn, C.S.I., Surgeon-General James.

Clerk, D.L., J.P., Colonel Robert Milday.

Cobham, The Right Hon. Viscount.

Coldstream, John.
Coldstream, William.
Cooper, C.I.E., Sir William Earnshaw.
Corfield, Wilmot.
Cox, C.S.I., Arthur Frederick.
Craddock, K.C.S.I., Sir Reginald Henry.
Cromer, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., The Right
Hon. the Earl of.
Cumming, C.I.E., John Ghest.
Cunningham, K.C.S.I., Sir William John.
*Curzon of Kedleston, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., The Right
Hon. the Earl.

Dalal, Khan Bahadur Adarja Mancherja.
†Dalal, N. B.
Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Louis William.
Das, Rai Bahadur Pitamber.
Dash, Arthur Jules.
Datta, Aswini Kumar.
Dawson, Walter Hill.
†De, H. K.
Debo, Radhamohono Rajendra.
Desai, Kuvarji Khandubhai.
Dhunjibhoy, Jivanji Shapoorji.
Dickinson, Alfred
Dinajpur, K.C.I.E., The Hon. Maharaja Bahadur of.
Dinshaw, M.V.O., Hormasjee Cowasjee.
Doderet, William.
Douglas, C.I.E., Lieutenant-Colonel Montagu William.
Douglas, William.
Dowden, R.E., Colonel Thomas Freeman.
Downie, D.D., The Rev. Dr.
Dubash, Cowasjee Rustomjee.
†Dubash, Jamsetji Kavasji.
Dubash, Kavasji Dadabhoy Hormusji.
Duke, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Frederick William.
Dumayne, Sir Frederick G.

- *Dungarpur, K.C.I.E., H.H. Maharawalji Sahib Sir
Bijaya Sinhji Bahadur, Maharaja of.
Dunlop, C.I.E., Colonel R. W. L.
Dunn, Charles William.
Dunn, M.I.C.E., George Owen William.
Durand, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., The Right Hon.
Sir Henry Mortimer.
- Ebrahim, Bart., Sir Currimbhoy.
Egerton, G.C.B., D.S.O., General Sir Charles Comyn.
Emmott, The Right Hon. Lord.
Ezra, J. E. D.
- Fell, Godfrey.
Filgate, C.I.E., The Hon. Mr. Townley Richard.
Fisher, J. F. Barling.
Forbes, C.S.I., Arthur.
Fraser, K.C.S.I., Sir Andrew Henderson Leith.
- *Fremantle, C.I.E., Selwyn Howe.
French, K.C.V.O., Sir Edward Lee.
Frewen, Moreton.
Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederic William Richards.
Fuller, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Joseph Bampfylde.
Fulton, LL.D., Sir Robert F.
- Gamble, C.I.E., J. Sykes.
Gandevia, Mervanji Maneckji.
Gaselee, G.C.B., G.C.I.E., General Sir Alfred.
Gates, K.C.I.E., Sir Frank Campbell.
Genge, Henry Arthur Pope.
Ghandy, Jivanjia Dinshaw.
Ghatge, C.S.I., C.I.E., Chief of Kagal, Pirajirao Bapu
Saheb.
- Ghorapade, Chief of Ichalkaranji, Narayanrao
Babasahib.
- Gibb, Malcolm Couper
Gibbs, Henry Metcalfe.
Goswami, M.A., B.L., Raja Kisori Lal.

†Goswami, Tulsi Chandra.

Grahame, William Francis.

Gray, Philip.

Gupta, C.S.I., Bihari Lal.

Gupta, Madhusudan Sen.

Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Krishna Gobinda.

Gutmann, Sander.

*Gwalior, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., A.D.C., Major-General His
Highness Sir Madho Rao Sindhia Bahadur,
Maharaja of.

Haigh, Mrs.

Hallward, Norman Leslie.

Halwasiya, Rai Bahadur Bissessurlall.

Hamilton, Sir Daniel Mackinnon.

Hamilton, W. F.

Hamilton, William Stirling.

Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Murray

Hamnett, Frederick Harper.

Harding, Herbert Olive Denman.

Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Lancelot.

Harris, Edward Branson.

Harvey, Andrew.

Hasrat, M.

†Hassanally, M. W.

Hatchell, David George.

Havell, E. B.

Haywood, H. M.

Hennell, C.V.O., D.S.O., Colonel Sir Reginald.

Hfay, The Hon. Mr. Maung.

Hill, C.S.I., C.I.E., The Hon. Mr. Claude Hamilton
Archer.

Hobart, Robert Charles.

Hogg, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Frederick Russell.

Holland, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., Sir Thomas Henry.

Holme, Henry Edward.

Holms, C.S.I., The Hon. Mr. John Mitchell.

Holmwood, Mrs. H.
 Hoskins, Nandy.
 Hotson, John Ernest Buttery.
 Howsin, Miss Hilda M.
 Huda, The Hon. Mr. S. Q.
 Huddleston, C.I.E., George.
 Hughes, C.I.E., Sir Walter Charleton.
 Hutchins, A. R.

Ilavna, Fakirjee N.
 Indore, H.H. Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar, Maharaja of.
 Ingram, Gerald Constantine Winnington.
 Irvine, Duncan.
 †Ismail, Khaja.
 Ives, Charles St. John.

Jackson, Mrs. A. M. T.
 Jacob, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., Colonel Sir Samuel Swinton.
 Jaipur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., Major-General His Highness Sir Sawai Madho Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of.
 Jardine, K.C.I.E., M.P., Sir John.
 Jardine, C.I.E., William Ellis.
 Jassawalla, Khursedji Sorabji.
 Jejeebhoy, Bart., The Hon. Sir Jamsetjee.
 Jhangier, Rustom P.
 Jenkins, K.C.I.E., Sir Lawrence Hugh.
 Jhalawar, K.C.S.I., H.H. Raj Rana Sir Bahawani Singh of.
 *Jind, K.C.S.I., H.H. Maharaja Sir Ranbir Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of.
 Jones, Daniel.
 Joyner, C.I.E., Robert Batson.

†Kangal, S. M. Syud Ahamed Atta Koya.
 Kanika, Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, Raja of.

- Karaka, Jehangir Dosabhoy Framjee.
Kasimbazar, K.C.I.E., The Hon. Maharaja Sir Man-
indra C. Nandi, Maharaja of.
Kazilbash, C.I.E., The Hon. Hajee Nawab Fatih Ali
Jehan.
Kennedy, Major William Magill.
Keyser, Alfred.
Khairpur, G.C.I.E., His Highness Mir Sir Imambux
Khan Talpur, Ruler of.
Khan, Syed Sirdar Ali.
Khory, Eduljee Jamsetjee.
Kimber, Bart., Sir Henry.
King, C.I.E., Colonel Walter Gawen.
King, K.C.I.E., Sir Henry Seymour.
Kinnaird, K.T., F.R.G.S., The Right Hon. Lord.
*Kolhapur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., H.H. Sir Shahu
Chhatrapati, Maharaja of.
Kothari, The Hon. Jehangier H.
Kotla, The Hon. Raja Kushalpal Singh, Raja of.
Kurup, Krishna.
Kurupam, The Hon. Vairicherla Virabhadra Razu
Bahadur, Raja of.
- Laidlaw, Sir Robert.
Lal, The Hon. Rai Bahadur Sundar.
†Lala, D. M.
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Laughton, C.B., Colonel A. F.
Law, Maharaj Kumar Resheecase.
*Lawley, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., The Hon. Sir
Arthur.
Lawrence, Edward.
Lawrence, Henry Staveley.
Lawrence, Bart., G.C.I.E., Sir Walter Roper.
Leach, Arthur Gordon.

Lefroy, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta, The Right
Rev. G. A.

Leggatt, William Charles Foster.

Leitner, Henry.

Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Frederick S.

Leslie, K.C.I.E., Sir Bradford.

Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., Sir Roper.

Limbdī, H.H. Dolatsinhji Jasvatsinghji, Thakore
Saheb of.

Low, K.C., M.P., Sir Frederick.

Lumsden, Oswald Farquhar.

Lunawada, K.C.I.E., Maharana Shri Sir Wakhatsinhji
Dalelsinhji, Raja of.

Lyon, C.S.I., The Hon. Mr. Percy Comyn.

Macarthur, D.D., Bishop of Southampton, The Right
Rev. James.

MacIver, Stewart William Graham Iver.

Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Duncan James.

Maconochie, Evan.

Madhowlal, Bart., Sir Chunabhai.

Majid, LL.D., Syed Abdul.

Major, Mark B. F.

Man, C.I.E., Edward Horace.

†Maracan, G. D.

Marsden, Edmund.

Martin, James Rea.

McDonald, James.

McPherson, Hugh.

Mead, C.I.E., Percy James.

Meade, C.I.E., Colonel Malcolm John.

*Meerza, Nawabzadah Syed Mohinddin.

Meyer, Elias.

Meyer, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir William Stevenson.

Millard, W. S.

Miller, Leslie Creery.

Miller, K.C.S.I., Sir John Ontario.

- Molesworth, K.C.I.E., Sir Guilford Lindsey.
Molony, Edmund Alexander.
Moncrieff, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., Colonel Sir Colin Campbell Scott.
Monteath, John, I.C.S.
Monteath, K.C.S.I., Sir James.
Mookerjee, C.S.I., Raja Peary Mohan.
Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., Sir Rajenara Nath.
Moore, Ross Arthur Leslie.
Morison, K.C.S.I., Sir William Thomson.
Muhummudabad, K.C.I.E., The Hon. Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Khan, Raja of.
Mulji, Sir Vasanji Trikamji.
Mulla, F. D.
Mullick, Basanta Kumar.
Munro, James Hume.
Murray, M.P., Captain the Hon. Arthur C.
Murray, C.I.E., Hugh.
Myers, Dudley Borron.
- Nabha, H.H. Maharaja Ripudaman Singh, Maharaja of.
- †Naimatullah, Shah M.
Nair, C.I.L., The Hon. Sir C. Sankaran.
- †Nanda, D. B. Lal.
Nanjundayya, C.I.E., Hebbalalu Velanpur.
- *Naoraji, Dadabhai.
Narain, Rai Bahadur Pundit Sheo.
Narayan, M.R.A.S., Lachmi.
Nashipur, Maharaja Ranajit Sinha, Maharaja of.
Nath, Dewan Bahadur Narendra.
- *Nawanagar, His Highness Jam Shri Ranjitsinhji Vibhaji, the Jam Sahib of.
Neill, John William
Nevill, Robert Charles Reginald.
Newbould, Babington Bennett.
Nicholson, Dr. Jijibhai Pestonji.

Nicholson, John C.

Nicholson, K.C.I.E., Sir Frederick Augustas.

Nissim, Joseph.

O'Connor, C.I.E., James Edward.

Oldham, Charles Evelyn Arbuthnot William.

Ormiston, George A. Fitz-Adam.

*Pahasu, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., C.S.I., The Hon. Nawab
Mumtaz-ud-daula Sir Muhammad Faiyaz Ali
Khan of.

Palanpur, G.C.I.E., H.H. Sir Sher Muhammad Khan
Zorawar Khan, Nawab of.

Parasmis, Rao Bahadur Dattatraya Balwant.

†Patel, Jehangier B.

Patel, C.I.E., Khan Bahadur Burjorji D.

Pattani, K.C.I.E., The Hon. Sir Prabhashankar D.

Payne, Charles Herbert.

Pennell, B.Sc., M.B., B.S. (London), Mrs.

Pennington, James Burn.

Penny, LL.M., The Rev. Frank.

*Pentland, G.C.I.E., His Excellency the Right Hon.
Lord.

Percival, Hugh Melville.

Pestonji, C.I.E., Khan Bahadur Nowroji.

Petit, Bomanjee Dinshaw.

Phelps, Lieutenant-General A.

Phillipowsky, P.

†Pillai, P. C. I.

Pillai, Perumana Narayana.

Pithapuram, Venkata Kumara Mahapati Surya Rao,
Raja of.

Playfair, C.I.E., Sir Patrick.

Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D., John.

Porteous, C.I.E., Alexander.

Pratabsinghji, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., A.D.C., Major-
General H.H. Maharajadhiraja Sir.

Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Lesley Charles.

Proctor, Sir Henry Edward Eccleston. }

Pudukkotai, G.C.I.E., His Highness Raja Martanda
Bhairava Tondiman Bahadur, Raja of.

Purdie, D. Alan.

Radhanpur, His Highness Jalaludin Khanji,
Nawab of.

†Rafeuddin, M., Esq.

*Rajpipla, K.C.I.E., His Highness Maharana Shri Si
Chatrasingha, Raja of.

Ram, C.I.E., M.V.O., M.I.C.E., Rai Bahadur Ganga.
Rao, K. Srinivasa.

†Rao, R. M. V. S.

†Razzak, Sheikh Abdul.

Reid, C.I.E., Marshall Frederick.

Rice, Walter Francis.

Richards, K.C.S.I., Sir Henry Erle.

Ridgeway, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., The Right Hon.
Sir Joseph West.

Roberts, Lieutenant-Colonel Allan Scott.

Roberts, M.P., Charles.

Robertson, LL.D., Sir Frederick Alexander.

Roe, Sir Charles.

Ronaldshay, M.P., The Earl of.

Rose, Horace Arthur.

Ross, Harry Marshall.

Rothfeld, Otto.

Rubbee, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Khondkar Fuzli.

Rudkin, George Drury.

Russell, Charles.

Ryan, George Michael.

Sa, I.S.O., Maung Po.

Sabnis, C.I.E., Rao Bahadur Raghunath Vyankaji.

Sāh, Rādhācharan.

Sailana, K.C.I.E., His Highness Raja Sahib Sir
Jeswant Singh Ji Bahadur, Raja of.

- Salarsahib, Khan Sahib Thana.
 Sale, Edward Little.
 Sale, Sir Stephen George.
 †Samad, Syed Abdus.
 Samatsinhji of Palitana, Kumar Shri Vijaysinhji.
 Sarma, The Hon. Mr. B. N.
 Sassoon, Mrs. Flora.
 Schuster, Bart., Sir Felix O.
 Seesodia, Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji.
 Semple, M.D., Lieutenant-Colonel Sir David.
 Sen, Dewan Mangal.
 Sen, Nirmul Chunder.
 Seweli, Robert.
 Shaw, Henry Shuldham.
 Sheppard, J.P., George Frederick
 *Shields, Isaac Mann.
 Shipley, Reginald Heber.
 Silberrad, Charles Arthur.
 *Sim, C.I.L., Henry A.
 Simpson, C.I.E., John Hope.
 *Singh, Rai Bahadur Ragho Prasad Narain.
 Singh, Sirdar Arjan.
 Singh, Sirdar Jogendra.
 Singh, C.I.E., The Hon. Raja Partab Bahadur.
 Singha, Rai Bahadur Laht Mohan.
 Singhaini, P. G.
 *Singi, R. Hanmandas.
 Sirohi, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., His Highness Sir Kaishri
 Singh Bahadur, Maharao of.
 Sladen, Joseph.
 Slater, John Sanders.
 *Smith, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Lieutenant-Colonel Sir James
 Robert Dunlop.
 Smith, Sydney D.
 Sorabji, Hormasji.
 Spencer, C.I.E., Hugh.
 Spencer, K.C.B., Surgeon-General Sir Lionel Dixon.

Stanley, K.C.I.E., K.C., Sir John.
Stoker, C.S.I., Thomas.
Stokes, K.C.S.I., Sir Gabriel.
Stuart, James Nicholson.
Summers, C.I.E., M.I.C.E., Thomas.

Tabak, E. H.
Talbot, D.D., Bishop of Winchester, The Right Rev.
Edward Stuart.
Tandam, M.B., C.M. (Edinburgh), Rup Kishore.
*Tata, Sir Dorabjee Jamsetji.
Tata, Ratan.
Temple, Bart., C.I.E., Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Richard
Carnac.
†Thadani, Thakurdas Vasanmal.
Thakur, B.A., I.S.O., Rao Bahadur Kashinath
Keshao.
Thorburn, Septimus Smet.
Tiwana, Captain Malik Mohammad Mobariz Khan.
Tiwana, C.I.E., M.V.O., Captain the Hon. Malik Umar
Hyat Khan.
Tottenham, Loftus Richard.
*Travancore, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., His Highness Sir Bala
Rama Varma, Maharaja of
Trethewy, Anthony William.
Tyabji, Moshin Badrudin
Tyrrell, Lieutenant-General F. H.

Umrigar, Mrs. Ardesher Jamsedjee.
Umrigar, Eduljee Byramjee.
Umrigar, Peroshaw Cooverji
†Utamsing, B.A., Gobindbux Vazirmal.

Vakil, The Hon. Sardar Khan Bahadur Rustomji
Jehangir.
Vencatachalam, M.
Vizianagram, The Hon. Raja of.

- †Wade, Miss L. E.
Wadia, Cursetji N.
Wadiyar, K.C.I.E., Yuvaraja of Mysore, Sir Shri
Kantirava Narisimharaja.
Wales, John Adolphus Gatgens.
†Waliulhuq, Mohammad.
†Wallace, Jehangir Pestonji.
Ward, C.I.E., M.V.O., M.I.C.E., Thomas Robert John.
Webb, C.I.E., Montagu de Pomeroy.
Webster, John Edward.
Wedderburn, Bart., Sir William.
Weir, Charles James.
West, Henry C.
White, Sir Charles Arnold.
Whitworth, George Clifford.
Wigley, C.I.E., Frederick George.
Wilkinson, H. R. H.
Wilkinson, Walter Hugh John.
Willingdon, G.C.I.E., His Excellency the Right Hon.
Lord.
Wilson, Alexander Hayman.
Wilson, David Alec.
Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir James.
Wynch, C.I.E., Lionel Maling.

Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Colonel Charles Edward.
Young, K.C.S.I., Sir William Mackworth.
Yousoff, the Hon. Nawab Khwaja Mohamed.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME, BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

THE holiday time saw a very interesting sporting event in which East and West met : a cricket match between an Indian Students' Eleven and a "Khaki Eleven" at Lord's. There was more than a sporting interest in the event ; there was recognition of the splendid service India has rendered in the war. Cricket has been a "dead letter" at the famous ground this season ; no great matches have been played ; only those who are serving the country in some military capacity have been allowed to make use of a pitch at Lord's. The M.C.C., however, was approached by Sir Frederick Robertson on behalf of the Hospitality Committee, with the suggestion that Indian students should play a match against a military Eleven. The Club not only relaxed the regulation restricting the use of the ground, but entered heartily into the proposal, as a tribute to India, and also entertained the two Elevens to lunch. Excellent weather favoured the occasion. Lord Harris, on behalf of the M.C.C., welcomed the Indian players, and made appreciative reference to the prowess of Indian soldiers in the fighting lines on several fronts. Sir Frederick Robertson is a veteran cricketer, and, with the help of Mr. N. C. Sen, took a keen interest in getting together a good Indian Eleven. A special feature of the match was that the Indian cricketers were captained by Kumar Shri Pratapsinghji, nephew of the Jam Sahib, and a cricketer of such great promise that he has already been dubbed "Ranji II." It was a disappointment that he did not bat, but when the score of the Indian Eleven stood at 270, with four men, in addition to himself, still to go in, the captain declared the innings closed. The Marylebone Military—the opposing Eleven—made 144 in their first innings, and being 126 behind, had to follow on : the next innings was something of a fiasco, for they had only reached a total of 18 for 8 wickets when time was called. *No game is lost till it is won, but the Indian Eleven* looked like achieving a notable victory. They did some good scoring ; M. Bajana made 126 (including sixteen 4's), and De Sarum 52 not out.

The biggest score for the Marylebone Military—80—was made by C. K. Campbell, who had ended Bajana's great innings by a catch at long off. K. S. Himatsinghji did fine service as wicket-keeper and Nicholson as bowler. The match, which was followed with keen interest, will be an interesting war year record for Lord's.

The visit of His Majesty the King-Emperor, accompanied by the Queen-Empress and Princess Mary, to the wounded Indian soldiers at Brighton, on August 21, was warmly appreciated by all the men, who demonstrated their enthusiasm and loyalty in a remarkable manner considering their maimed condition. Their Majesties visited the wards of all the Brighton hospitals for Indian wounded, interested themselves in the arrangements made for their comfort, especially those to do with caste customs and food, and heard with attention stories told by the men and some of their grievances. "He is a good listener!" they said with confidence and satisfaction. The great event of the visit was the bestowal, by His Majesty, of decorations won in the war. Jemadar Mir Dast, I.O.M., received his V.C. from the hands of the King-Emperor, who pinned it on and spoke with warm appreciation of the brave deed. Other decorations conferred were the Military Cross, the Order of British India, the Indian Order of Merit, and the Indian Distinguished Service Medal. His Majesty pinned on every decoration, shook hands with each recipient, and expressed the fervent hope that all would live long to enjoy the honours that they had won. This was the second visit to the Brighton Hospitals paid by Their Majesties. Other recent visitors have been Her Majesty Queen Alexandra and Lord Kitchener, who were warmly welcomed. Queen Alexandra has presented to the Indian soldiers in France, and in this country, a souvenir card bearing a picture of the last ceremonial opening of Parliament by His Majesty King Edward. On one side is the Royal Standard, and on the other the White Ensign. The rose, thistle, shamrock, and leek are stamped on the card, and the following inscriptions: "For God, King, and Country," "Edward VII." and "Alexandra, with best wishes, 1915."

It was a happy idea for Indian children, with the help of some English friends, to organize and carry out successfully an entertainment for the convalescent Indian soldiers on the occasion of one of their visits to London. To the children of Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Princess Ghosal, and Mr. and Mrs. Campbell, the credit is due. They gave with vivacity and unself-consciousness the always enthralling play of "Cinderella." Interpreters were busy beforehand explaining the story to the soldiers, and they succeeded so well that the men were quick to understand the dramatic events portrayed. The entertainment was given at 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, on Wednesday, September 8, after the men had enjoyed the Indian meal which is always provided at Cromwell Road on these sight-seeing expeditions. Wednesday is also the weekly afternoon "At Home" of the National Indian Association, at which Mrs.

Sen and Miss Rosanna Powell are hostesses, so there was a large audience for the play in addition to the soldiers, and the hearty reception given to the children should encourage them to further efforts. An added interest to the afternoon was Mrs. Narayan Aiyar's singing of Indian songs to her own accompaniment on the vina.

The National Indian Association, on September 2, gave its Hon. Secretary, Miss E. J. Beck, a good send-off on her visit to India. A large number of members, friends, and students gathered to express their personal good wishes. Miss Beck's visit, postponed last year owing to the war, was planned simply to gratify a personal and long-cherished desire to renew an acquaintance with India and her people begun some years ago when her late brother, Mr. Theodore Beck, was Principal of the M. A-O. College, Aligarh. But when the Council of the Association heard of Miss Beck's intention, they requested her to widen the scope of a personal visit into a visit to the Indian branches; Miss Beck consented, and at the good-bye party, Sir James Wilson, Hon. Treasurer of the Association, explained that the Council felt it was only fair to make a contribution to the expenses Miss Beck would incur in carrying out their wishes. In order to avoid any depletion of the funds of the Association, which are suffering through the war, a letter was sent out by the Council to some members and friends, giving them the opportunity to help if they wished to do so. A generous response was the result. Sir Charles Lyall, on behalf of the Association, expressed good wishes to Miss Beck for safe voyages out and home, and the extension of her work for India. Mr. A. Yusuf Ali and several students added to their expressions of goodwill sincere appreciation of Miss Beck's unfailing kindness and readiness to help in most varied ways for nine years. Miss Beck, in replying, said what pleasure it would give her to visit the Indian branches of the Association, and hoped that closer co-operation and extended work would result. The final send-off was at Liverpool Street Station on September 11, when many friends and students came from long distances with offerings of flowers and fruit. Miss Beck travelled to India with her sister, Miss Hannah Beck, who has been appointed lady-in-charge of the English Home for the younger boys at Aligarh College; Miss Hannah Beck has been very successful in this kind of work at a College in Canada. The duties of hon. secretary of the National Indian Association are being undertaken, in Miss Beck's absence, by Miss Dora Dove.

A new effort, which synchronizes with the appointment of an Indian, Sir Sankaran Nair, to the Executive Council of the Viceroy as Education Member, is being made for the furtherance of the education of Indian girls. Sir William Wedderburn made a proposal some months ago in the "New Statesman" for an *entente cordiale* between Britain and India to be carried out by women. After consideration of the proposal it was felt that education would form a common meeting-ground, and a Memorial is to be presented on the subject to the Secretary of State for India.

A strong committee has been formed to deal with the matter, and although it does not consist entirely of women, they are well represented on it, and many of those associated with the new enterprise are specially qualified for the work. Sir Krishna Gupta, K.C.I.E., is chairman, and the other members of the committee are Lady Emily Lutyens, Lady Muir-Mackenzie, Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mrs. Abbas Ali Baig, Mrs. P. L. Roy, Mrs. Haig, the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, P.C., Sir Herbert Roberts, M.P., Sir John Jardine, M.P., Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., and Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.; Miss Bonnerjee and Mr. A. Yusuf Ali are joint hon. secretaries. A well-attended meeting was held at the house of Lady Muir-Mackenzie, when a draft of the Memorial was considered, and able speeches were made by the hostess, Sir Krishna Gupta, Sir William Wedderburn, Lady Emily Lutyens, Mrs. Villiers Stuart, Miss Ashworth, who has been inspectress of schools in the Bombay Presidency, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Miss Targart, and Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee. The difficulties of the task were not minimized, but it was felt that they must be overcome, and the appointment of Sir Sankaran Nair was enthusiastically welcomed as warranting the hope that during his tenure of office some steps would be taken to remove the reproach of illiteracy from the women and girls of India. The last Memorial on the same subject was presented in 1892 to Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for India, and some notable signatures were attached to it, among them, Miss Florence Nightingale, Baroness Burdett-Coutts, the Marchioness of Ripon, Professor Max Muller, Sir William and Lady Wedderburn, Sir George Birdwood, Sir Roper Lethbridge, Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, and many others. The new Memorial is being signed by many influential people. Here are some of the facts it sets forth and suggestions for a committee of inquiry :

"That your memorialists, while fully recognizing the inherent difficulties of the subject, on account of the customs and social prejudices of the people, and gratefully acknowledging the efforts of Government, resulting in a considerable rise in recent years in the number of girls under instruction, are disappointed that the number is still so insignificant in proportion to the general population. They feel, from a comparison of the figures for the more advanced Feudatory States, that better results are possible even under present conditions, if the control of girls' education were more in Indian hands. For they find that, while in British India only 3,910 girls were under instruction in 1913 for every million of the general population (male and female), the proportion in Mysore was 5,600, in Travancore it was 18,637, in Cochin it was nearly 20,000 (in 1912), and in Baroda it was as high as 35,500 (in 1912).

"That your memorialists consider that the enormous disparity (of 1 : 5) in the number of girls and of boys under instruction in British India constitutes a grave danger to the social well-being of the Indian communities and must impose a serious obstacle to the well-balanced development of their intellectual and political progress ; and they fear that the disparity is likely to be further accentuated by the success of the educational campaign which proposes to double in the early future the number of boys under

instruction, unless a corresponding effort is made on behalf of the education of girls.

"Your memorialists pray that such a committee of inquiry be forthwith appointed, with instructions :

- (a) To inquire into all matters touching the education of girls and women in India in all its aspects—domestic, intellectual, moral, physical, artistic, and religious ;
- (b) So far as practicable to examine and weigh the different methods and ideals pursued in different parts of India ;
- (c) To suggest for British India broad principles as regards the subject-matter of such education, the ideals to be pursued, the methods to be adopted, and the curricula, textbooks, and languages to be used, with special reference to local or communal conditions ;
- (d) To consider the organization of agencies for instruction, inspection, and control, specially suitable to the different religions and communities ;
- (e) To come to a finding whether specialized institutions meeting the special needs of the different communities would be more efficient, in present conditions, in imparting real education that takes account of and fits in with the actual facts of life than mixed institutions ; and, if so, how they are to be constituted, and what qualifications should be imposed with regard to the allocation to them of public funds ;
- (f) To enter into details of the different heads of expenditure, Imperial, Provincial, and Local, to call attention to any want of proportion in the amounts spent on some heads, *e.g.*, buildings or the provision of conveyances, compared with other heads, *e.g.*, salaries of teachers ;
- (g) To draw up a scheme for the adequate training and supply of Indian teachers, inspectresses, and an educational staff generally ; and
- (h) To make recommendations on any matters of principle or detail which may affect the promotion or improvement of the education of girls or women in India.

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In an address at the last meeting of the London Moslem League Mr. A. Yusuf Ali spoke as the candid friend, pointing out weaknesses and suggesting reforms. He laid special stress on the education of girls and declared that it was the duty of Moslem parents to educate their girls as well as their boys. The latest figures as to educated Moslem girls—213,191—he added, "make one ashamed." If social customs hinder the education of girls, the retarding conditions must be removed. Uneducated womanhood meant ignorant mothers and a consequent hindering of progress. He gave the four types recognized amongst Moslems as perfect women—Asia, Mary, Fatima, and Khadija—to prove that Islam did not decree a narrow sphere for womanhood. "When our women," he said, "in their varying degrees and according to their varying talents, and in ever-varying combinations, shall represent the graces and virtues of these

types, then, indeed, there will be no fear for the men of Islam. . . . Our social organization will depend on woman's light and woman's leading. Women like the Begum of Bhopal, like Q'urrat-ul-Ain among the Bahais, like Safia Ahmed Faris, whose recent death we so deplore, are beacon lights to guide our destinies. In woman's hands must necessarily rest the growth and consecration of family life to the highest social and moral ends. Her position in the family, in the school, in the mosque, in religion, art, literature, and life must be assured and strengthened."

A Persian morality play by a living author, Mirza Assad 'U'llah, a companion of the Bab and of his kinsman Baha 'U'llah, was given for the first time in England and in English by the New Life Players in the gardens of Spring Grove House, Isleworth, on September 11, for the benefit of the venerable author, who, with his wife, is a sojourner in this country owing to the war. They came on a visit two months before the outbreak of war, and are still here owing to the difficulties of returning to Syria, and the fact that their home and property, being in the war zone, have been destroyed. The players were the residents at Spring Grove House, which is now the Miller Institute, directed by Dr. Miller, of the New Thought Centre at the Bechstein Hall, and they entered with enthusiasm into the spirit of the play. It is entitled "Life's Mystery," and has been translated into English by the author's son, Dr. Ameen 'U'llah Fareed, and adapted for the stage by Dr. Paul Tyner. The setting should be "a rose garden in Iran," but the raised terrace for the players and the sloping lawn for the audience at Spring Grove House, with spreading cedars and towering elms as a background, made an excellent substitute. The play deals, in oriental fashion, with the claims of science and religion; the argumentative form leads to no settlement, so the claim is submitted to a judge and jury, and the Divine Man appears to state his case; the verdict is given in his favour; idealism and realism are reconciled. The author was accorded a most hearty reception by the large audience.

At a meeting last month of the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland at the headquarters, Penywern Road, Earl's Court, Mrs. Rhys Davids, M.A., gave an enlightening address on "The Notion of Love in the Suttas." Buddhism, she claimed, took account of all the varied emotions and channels of emotional expression covered by the word "love." The most comprehensive Sutta on the subject, where devotion and service to fellow-creatures is enjoined in place of devotion to deities, is the "Homily to Singala"; six forms of reciprocal devotion, not "love," but compassion, literally a "vibrating according to or because of," are prescribed for one of the parties—parents to children, wives to husbands, servants to masters, friend to friend, teacher to pupil; for the corresponding parties "waiting on," "ministering to" is prescribed. For all beings amity is enjoined; not merely to be habitually felt, but to be made habitual systematically by special meditation. The ground notion of loving emotion in Buddhism is ever-vibrant benevolence—the motive im-

elling the Saviour Buddha and all his missionary disciples, of which the chosen symbol is mother-love. The lecture concluded with a comparison of the Christian ideal, "love your enemies," with the Buddhist attitude of grave tenderness to a world suffering through the effects of lust, ill-will, and stupidity.

At the last meeting of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society the musical outlook in Russia was discussed by Mr. Ernest Fowles, F.R.A.M. Those who wished to get the best out of the music of Russia must realize that the composer deals with his art as a language able to seize his own thoughts and project them into the mind of another. The Russian, he continued, was a great craftsman in the creation of atmosphere; it saturated his work, and he had shown himself a past master in the development of the emotional aspect of music. Here is to be found the key to Russian music as a whole. The suddenness of Russia's entry into the arena of musical activity was a testimony to the strenuousness of the emotionalism which pervaded her music; but her art had been solidified on firm foundations. Since the art life of a nation was usually the reflection of the national life, there would probably be surprises during the next few years. When a nation had made up its mind that music was not only one of the joys of life, but one of its great necessities, that nation would be acclaimed as a leader in the musical counsels of the world. The lecture was illustrated by selections, played by Mr. Fowles, from the works of Borodin, Arensky, Rachmaninoff, Scriabin, and others, and Glazounoff's Concerto in F Minor was played by Miss Edna Joslin, L.R.A.M.

A Russian Circle has now been added to the many Circles of the Lyceum Club, London, and will serve to centre interest on the art, literature, and varied interests of Russia, as do the other Circles in their respective spheres. The President of the new Circle is Mrs. Howe, who has lived for many years in Russia, and a strong committee has been formed. The Circle was inaugurated at a very successful dinner at the Club. M. Shklovsky spoke on Russian literature and M. Aladin on the prospects of democracy in Russia. Russian music, given by Mme. Levinskaja (piano) and Mme. Ratmirova (songs) was a special interest of the after-dinner programme. Arrangements are being made for the autumn meetings of the Circle, and it is hoped that one of the lecturers will be Mdlle. Marie de Czaplicka, the Polish scientist and first woman to be appointed leader of a scientific research expedition. She has just returned to England after an absence of eighteen months in Siberia with an anthropological expedition, of which she was invited to be the leader by the University of Oxford.

Short courses of public lectures on recent history, with special bearing on the war, have been arranged at the London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London), Clare Market, Kingsway, W.C. Admission is free by ticket, to be obtained on application to the secretary. The courses are as follows:

"The Rights and Duties of the State." A course of six lectures by Professor Hobhouse, on Thursdays, at 5 p.m., in Michaelmas Term, beginning October 28.

"International Law as Affected by the War." A course of two lectures by Professor Sir John Macdonell, on Thursdays, at 5.30 p.m., in Michaelmas Term, beginning November 25.

"Austria-Hungary and the Southern Slavs." A course of four lectures by Dr. Seton-Watson, on Mondays, at 5 p.m., in Michaelmas Term, beginning October 25.

"Poland, Bohemia, Alsace-Lorraine." A course of three lectures by Mr. G. P. Gooch, M.A., on Mondays, at 5 p.m., in Michaelmas Term, beginning November 22.

"Mesopotamia" (the region between the Persian Gulf and Armenia in modern times). Two lectures by Mr. D. G. Hogarth, on Mondays, at 5 p.m., in Lent Term, beginning January 24.

"The Balkan States." A course of six lectures by the Director, on Mondays, at 5 p.m., in Lent Term, beginning February 7.

"The Growth of Imperial Sentiment in India." A course of six lectures by Sir Theodore Morison, on Wednesdays, at 5 p.m., in Summer Term, beginning May 3.

The Eastern League, which was formed a year ago, for the purpose of making comforts for the Indian troops, will hold its anniversary meeting on Tuesday, October 5, at 2.30 p.m., in the Indian Room at Messrs. Whiteley's, Westbourne Grove, W. The President, Lady Hayes Sadler, cordially invites all members and subscribers to attend. The League has continued its work without interruption for twelve months, and has supplied needed clothing and comforts to the Indian soldiers at the Front and in hospital. It meets twice a week—on Tuesdays and Fridays, in the Indian Room at Messrs. Whiteley's, from 3 to 6 p.m., for work, or work is supplied to be done at home by ladies unable to attend. In view of the needs of the coming winter, the President will welcome new members. Donations may be sent to Mrs. H. Beverley, hon. treasurer, and enrolment fees, 1s., to Mrs. Bhola Nauth. The hon. secretary is Mrs. P. L. Roy, 15, Glazebury Road, W. Indian and English ladies are associated in the work, and will be very glad to increase their numbers.

A. A. S

THE NATIONAL SONG OF INDIA

VANDE MATERAM

From the "Ananda Matha" (Abbey of Bliss).

(From the Sanskrit by Dr. John Pollen, of Sidcup, with the aid of Mrs. Sen.)

BHAVANANDA *sings* :

HAIL, Mother, hail! To thee my brow I bend.
 Dear land of fruit, of corn, of spreading stream,
 Where softly blows the breeze, where trees extend
 Their boughs all-blossom to the Moon's bright beam,
 Where Nature smiles, where joyous echoes ring,
 Where Thou on all dost happiness bestow.
 To Thee, Joy-giver, homage here I bring.
 Hail, Motherland! To Thee I bend me low.

Voices of millions in thy voice rise high.
 To every voice two hands respond in Love.
 Ready to grasp the sharp sword fearlessly ;
 With strength like this why shouldst Thou strengthless
 prove ?

Nay! Mother, proudly in thy prowess rise !
 Redeemer of thy sons, victorious Thou
 Wilt scatter all thy haughty enemies.
 Hail, Motherland! To Thee I bend my brow.

All that my Knowledge is—Thou art ; and all my faith ;
 My Heart art Thou, yea! and my very Soul ;
 Thou art the air I breathe—my body's wraith.
 Yea! and my body too!—my living whole.

Thou art my strength—my very hands are Thine,
Naught know I of devotion save for Thee ;
In every Temple and in every Shrine
Naught but Thy sacred image do I see.

In many-handed Durga, dagger-zoned,
In science, art, and high philosophy.
In Lakshmi fair, upon the Lotus throned,
In all these forms 'tis only Thou I see.
To Thee who giv'st us Fortune good or ill,
To Thee the Faultless One, without compare,
Who dost Thy sons with choicest blessings fill.
To Thee, O Mother, bend I low in prayer.
O Land so brightly green, so fair to see,
So richly decked, with smile so heavenly sweet,
Who dost us all maintain from misery free,
Thee, Mother mine, Thee only do I greet !

THE TURCOS AT CAMBRAI

I.

SUDDEN they halt : along the van,
 Adown the rear from man to man,
 The thrilling whisper runs :
 “ The German lines are deep and long,
 The German trenches strong,
 Well guarded by their guns ;
 But *there* is glory for the brave—
 The Victor’s fame, the Hero’s grave !”

2.

Not sons of France—her liegemen they—
 These swarthy men from Afric’s coast.
 The leader of the brave array
 With flashing weapon points the way
 Where lies the German host.
 “ Soldiers !” who’ve faced a hundred times
 The deadly levelled gun,
 Now show them how in sunnier climes
 The Soldier’s work is done.”

3.

“ Forward !” Yet scarce that sound had died,
 When forth they rushed, a heaving tide,
 To hurl them on the foe !
 A thousand watchful gunmen saw
 The angry tide below ;

A thousand sleeping guns awoke ;
A thousand throats the silence broke ;
A deadly shower of shot and shell
Upon the advancing warriors fell,
But checked not their advance.
On, on they pressed through blood and smoke,
To dare the very fiends of Hell
For Honour and for France !

4.

Now, faster through the sulph'rous gloom,
As still they onward stride,
There comes the fatal flash, the boom
On which Death's minions ride !
But onward, onward, onward
They strive with iron tread,
Heedless of all that wounded fall
Beside them or ahead.
Onward—they scale a ghastly wall
Of their companions dead !

5.

Death ! 'Tis nothing to them now :
In each breast and on each brow
Proud Hope and Faith
Have conquered Death
In Life's supremest strife,
Crowding in one moment's breath
A whole Eternity of Life !

6.

Five hundred or but one—
Numbers to them are nought :
One heart, one soul—they run,
They rush upon the spot,
Reckless of shell and shot,
Where gapes the muzzle hot

Of each death-dealing gun.
The foemen one and all,
They stagger, flee, or fall—
And Glory's deed is done!

7.

The deed is done—the trench is won!
The victors—where are they?
Of half a thousand daring men
The sole survivors—twelve or ten—
All gashed and bleeding lay!
The rest—in yonder field they sleep,
Where Faith and Honour vigil keep—
'Neath thy green turf, Cambrai!

8.

'Twas done, that dauntless, deathless deed,
Far from their native strand.
It was not for their race or creed,
But for an alien race,
A foreign land,
Duty their valour did demand
And Fate their doom decreed.
Each felt the land's disgrace
Worse than his death.
Each gave her at her need
A hero's breath!

9.

High, high on Heaven's roll of fame,
Where angels write each hero's name,
Their names are writ! And shall the Muse
The tribute of her voice refuse
To those whose spirit was the same,
Though of a coarser clay,

As of the nobly-daring few,
The few that in Thermopylæ
All Persia's might withstood—
Where Fame's eternal laurel grew,
They watered with their blood ?

NIZAMUT JUNG.

HYDERABAD, DECCAN.

THE PERSIAN RELIGION OF AVESTA WAS THE MOTHER OF MANY CREEDS

A RECEPTION was given a few years ago at one of the Holborn Halls in London by the late Mr. N. M. Cooper, a prominent Parsee resident of London, to his fellow Zoroastrians, Professor Moulton, Sir George Birdwood, and Professor Mills having been invited to speak.

Professor Mills has been anxious to repeat some of his remarks, hoping to remove the impression that his subject is addressed to a narrow circle of experts. He holds it—with most other experts—to be a subject essential to the history of religious philosophy, and above all of religion in the Bible, which cannot be exhaustively examined without it. He once made it the subject of a sermon in one of the English churches in Paris, at the urgent request of the chaplain. He is gratified to see that the neighbouring clergy here are beginning to take an interest. Professor Mills's opening remarks at the reception were as follows :

THE PHILOSOPHIC INITIATIVE OF THE AVESTA.

When we ask ourselves, What is, after all, the value of Avesta ? we may be reassured at once by a commanding circumstance ; it is this : That the Gāthic Avesta immediately asserts its pre-eminent position in the intellectual history of our race, for its chief feature—that of the Avesta—is its advanced *interior moral-religious* and, therefore, philosophical animus. It contains the earliest recorded expression of the moral idea.

We open its folios, and immediately meet a Deity who is supreme over the good creation, but saved, through His inherent limitations, from all responsibility for the evils which we suffer, in which last deplorable results He was neither implicated through origination nor permission ; for these evils were the result of the counter-creative activity of an evil spirit, who was original and eternal (we have His pale shade in our Jewish-Christian Satan). Here I do not refer to those evils which are corrective and ameliorative, though we may well wonder why even these can be so poignant.

The Archangels of the Supreme Being, who also, if only in the highest conceivable sense, limit Him while they explain Him, were no mere winged creatures of the poetic imagination, but, most sublimely, the unfolding of His character, they being simply those few essential principles which alone save life from being chaos, and the universe from being "hell." They govern the Supreme God Himself. They were Truth, Love, Order, Energy, Welfare, and Eternity. Could anything be more impressive? And at that time it was totally new. Who ever, in recorded history, had dreamed that God was just, much less loving. He made one vessel to honour and another to dishonour. He was, as said, otherwise omnipotent, for the few subordinate, inferior "deities" are less important than our own Archangels, and in no way impair His supremacy. There can be but one "Supreme" good object, but one *Greatest*.

This *led the ancient world* at its date as a scheme of conservative theism ; and can anything modern of the kind be said to surpass it? Instead of presenting such a contradiction as a *good* God, who could create immortal beings predestined by Himself to everlasting flames, He was actually in essence rather more limited by His own character than by His supposed personal opponent. He was, in fact, *a God of honour*, who could not have been concerned in such an iniquity. Here we have in this sevenfold manifestation first of all in obvious light the chief personified

elements in all theological representation, saving the nature of the Most High from the crime of permitting the origin and continued existence of the greatest, saddest, and most familiar of all sorrows which force themselves upon us.

The horrors of evil existence—so it is unavoidably implied—were inevitably fixed as constitutive links in the chain of causality, and this in the very vital elements of that existence itself, with its supposed “will-freedom.” Recall Herakleitos. The good God was *morally*, but, praise to His holy name, only “morally,” supreme, never mechanically omnipotent. He could not disintegrate the very laws of His own being, and of all our being; there was *something* which He gloriously could not do—that is, be a *felon*, nor could he make one; *it must needs be that the offence come*. All things must be defined by their opposites—ever existing. Even holiness—heaven itself is marked out by hell, which has been as eternal in the past as it shall be in the future. By merciful extinction alone will the unrepentant be personally saved being instantly consumed without pain; the good through a suffering God. For He suffers by the negations (patri-passionism).

This alone was an immense idea, if but one in a thousand understood it;—there have been many thousands since. The contrary to it would be mental mania, and only fails to make men “demons” because we cannot afford to think—recall the third creed, “incomprehensible,” “incomprehensible.” A wonderful thought indeed it was for the time, 700 to 900 B.C., and for the place, North-East and North-West Iran; and a wonderful thought it is for all time, for it gave the keynote to what Herakleitos has said—so possibly—and it certainly was the original of much Gnostic suggestion, that rich source of future thinking, also of that of Manes, and of the pure and widespread Mithra cult so current in the Roman army ever facing death. See also the developments of these forerunners in Fichte and Hegel through Jakob Boehme (1624)—so it

is thought. The Persian Avesta pervades the foundations of much ancient and of all modern religious philosophy. The Jews were Persian—let us not forget it—for two centuries. And well this might be vital, even if we must cite such minor considerations as mere numerical expansion through centuries of time. The Indian religions themselves were more restricted. Avesta was the Bible of all Middle Asia for a decade of centuries, within its Empire from Egypt to India, and but for the Battle of Marathon it might have become the religion of Greece with some loss to poetry, but a gain in soul. Mohammedism nearly extinguished it. Not that it was ever universally and individually intimately known in those ancient communities. How many Jews ever understood the prophets or heard their lore? The prophets are better known to-day in Europe than they ever were in Jewry. See their failure at the Advent. Recall the astonishing fact that in the time of Josiah, one of the best of Jewish Kings, the very book of the Law itself seems to have been unknown. A copy of it was found in the temple, *and its discovery made a sensation.*

The main ideas of the Avesta religion found their way *unimpaired* to distant Greece as early as 350 B.C., about the time of Theopompos, a most curious phenomenon (see Plutarch). The immense spread of Mazda-worship is clear at once from the inscriptions of Darius and his successors, which are based upon it, for they were addressed to the mightiest Oriental Empire ever known for perhaps a thousand years with only an apparent break under the Parthians—renewed under the Sasanids. And the chief proof that this influence was practical is, as said and implied above—viz., that in unique form it is alive to-day in our Jewish Christian theologies and creeds.

THE GREEK CRISIS

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

I

WHEN, on the 21st of August of this year, it was known that M. Venizelos had once more accepted the onerous task of guiding, under the most difficult and embarrassing circumstances, the destiny of the wayward Hellenes, a gleam of hope shot through the chequered gloom surrounding the Balkan Peninsula. Then ugly rumours arose, disquieting to many who were not personally acquainted with the Great Cretan statesman, rumours speedily quelled by the thrill of joy that ran through the soul of Europe when the Greek Premier made the characteristic and touching appeal, unique in matchless simplicity, white-hot in its controlled fervour of intensity.

"I will not speak of my programme," he is reported to have said to a representative of the *Petit Parisien* in Athens, "but the friendly Cabinets know what I hope to do. Let the French people trust me, and thus imitate the Greek people, which has, without murmuring, allowed me to resume office without directly and completely laying my programme before it. This people knows that I am still myself, and for the moment I am trying to find my road, and I shall succeed in so doing.

"There you have in a phrase the future course of my policy. . . . I return to office at a very difficult moment.

At the present times acts are wanted, not words, and above all discretion."

To the question why there should be so much rejoicing at the return to power of the creator of the first Balkan League the concisest answer is given by Mr. Charles Woods in the *Fortnightly Review* for September.

"The arrival at an understanding with Bulgaria, and the consequent reconstitution of the Balkan League, probably means the augmentation of the Allied Armies by at least 1,290,000 men, and that the armies composed of these men would be in a position to act in exactly the areas where their presence would be most valuable to us."

Here we have in one of those thumbnail sketches of clearest outline which characterize the writings of Mr. Woods, the material reason why the acceptance of power by the leading statesman in the Near East was hailed with such general acclamation. And everyone knows that during the period of enforced reaction M. Venizelos will be strenuously, if silently, engaged in re-forming a more enduring alliance than the one so ruthlessly disrupted.

II

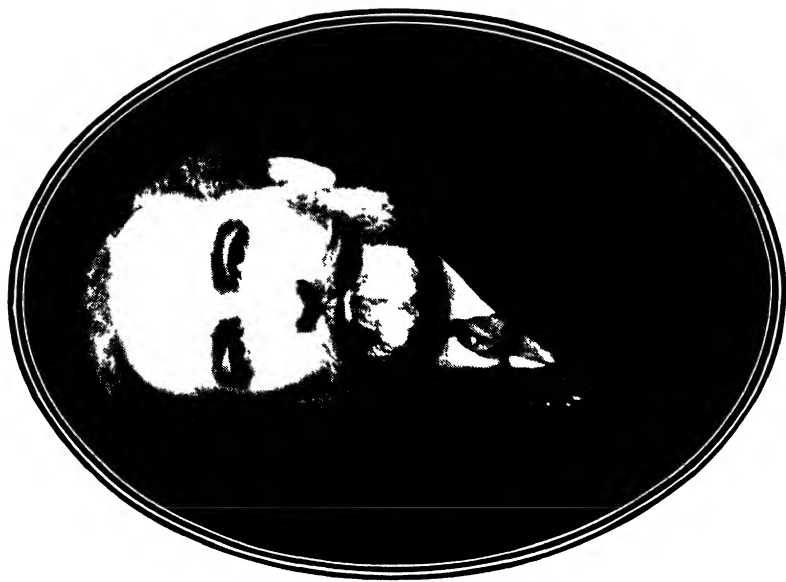
The spiritual values of the political triumph of M. Venizelos, barren though they seem for the moment of immediate results, lie deeper and need some elaboration to make them manifest.

The Greek Premier would have risked intervention on behalf of the Allies, without bargaining, without ulterior aims of subsequent gains. His far-sightedness enables him to realize that in the long run the right thing is the best thing, and brings the greatest returns materially as well as morally. He was willing to trust to the generosity of the countrymen of Byron and Gladstone, to the justice of the great French Republic, to the magnanimity of awakened Russia, but was forced to yield his will to the stern pressure of overwhelming forces.

Then when all seemed hopeless, when popular sympathy



M. VLAZELON



DR. DRAKOUIES

with the suffering monarch who had proved a brave and successful leader of his people in the battlefield, contended with, and finally triumphed over, the sense of gratitude of the Greek nation to those Powers by the help of which its independence was achieved and assured, a new factor came into the field.

Having vainly endeavoured to secure a deputation to Greece to help in neutralizing the effects of the Prussian virus which, in his view, was choking the nation's moral life and strangling its will, Dr. Platon Drakoules started alone for Athens at the end of June, determined at all costs to attempt to rally his countrymen to the support of those higher ideals which he had set before them during the last thirty years. Rich indeed had been the harvest of his sowing. Its firstfruits had been reaped in the upheaval known as the Military Revolution, culminating in the Military League, a rising, not against King and Constitution, but, as its leader himself expressed it to the writer, "a righteous revolt against a corrupt system of government which made all legislation by the people for the people an impossibility."

Greece has produced in one generation three remarkable men, two of whom are not only leaders of their own countrymen, but have become powerful factors in world polity.

The heart of Hellas beats in the breast of Platon Drakoules, its mind incarnates itself in the brain of Eleutherios Venizelos, and its hand, through that of General Zorbas, struck off the worst fetters imposed by a corrupt system of government under which no man could act uprightly, however great might be his desire to do so. Having performed this indispensable service to his fellows, General Zorbas, the Cincinnatus of modern Greece, quietly retired into private life, thus making possible the peaceful advent of the greater statesman for whom he had so ably prepared the way.

Arriving in Athens Dr. Drakoules was faced with one

of the worst experiences that can befall the human soul. Persecution from Scribes and Pharisees is to be expected. It is often the best gauge of the work achieved. But the discovery of the bitterest foes among those of one's own household of faith, this is indeed the oldest of human experiences and the newest of human tragedies.

What had to be faced is mildly expressed in the *Morning Post* of September 4, which I quote :

“ M. Drakoules, the Greek Socialist leader, who by his advocacy of the Entente alienated the sympathies of many Balkan Socialists, found at first in Athens a determined opposition on the part of the Greek Socialist party. Immediately upon his published opinion that Greece must abandon neutrality and side with the Allies, the Executive, last May, issued a manifesto in favour of neutrality, waging at the same time a fierce campaign against M. Drakoules. The result was a split in the Greek Socialist movement.

“ The majority of Socialists accepted the view of M. Drakoules, and the Executive has since been replaced by a new one, which this week issued a manifesto pointing out the reasons why Hellenism, as well as Socialism, has nothing to gain, but everything to lose, in case of a German victory or a premature peace. The manifesto is in the form of a warm appeal to Socialists, as well as to Non-Socialists, to press upon the Government the necessity of abandoning neutrality at once and siding with the Entente Powers, which represent the democratic spirit, and which, nearly a century ago, crowning the ten years' struggle of Greece, achieved her liberation from the Turk.”

One of the most remarkable of Dr. Drakoules' numerous and ardent appeals on behalf of the Entente Powers is to be found in an article published in the leading Athens

paper, 'Η 'Ακρόπολις, a journal that does not share his point of view. By reproducing it the Editor justifies the impression he gave me when I met him in Athens of that capacity for intellectual dispassion so indispensable in the directors of responsible organs of public opinion. I will conclude with a few extracts from this article on "The Attitude of Greece," which is all that the exigencies of space will permit.

Says Dr. Drakoules :

" The attention of a man, arriving in Greece after having spent the few previous months in England and France, is first struck by this curious phenomenon, that though all here recognize the supreme gravity of the present moment, yet their minds are mainly pre-occupied with narrow political issues, when they should be considering the precipice down which the nation will be hurled headlong if its course is not governed by lofty and noble aspirations in the face of a world-wide conflict to which history affords no parallel. We are regarding the problem not as if it concerned a supreme crisis in the Hellenic race, but rather as if it were a problem of but secondary importance dealing with some chance benefit or some insignificant loss. But the problem in question is one of life or death. . . . Trivial points of view concerning exchanges and guarantees, antipathies and sympathies, politics and personalities, party calculations, devotion to heroes, the absence of a lofty ideal towards which we should press with the flag of liberty unfurled, the forgetfulness of the solidarity of the Hellenes with all other peoples whose liberties and privileges are equally threatened—these things have characterized the attitude of Greece, especially since last November."

" What Power can guarantee the liberty of Greece," asks Dr. Drakoules, " when possible catastrophe is threatening the liberties of all other countries ?"

He points out why intervention would have been a comparatively simple matter in the first months of the war, as the Greeks were at that time animated by a spirit much more in harmony with their natural temperament, which is rooted deep in that fundamental love of liberty and those traditions of the Greek race moulded by the age-long struggles for liberty.

He observes how the disharmony between the parties in the state chilled the first enthusiasm of the people, like an icy wind from the North :

“There are circumstances in which extreme enthusiasm is dangerous for a nation, but under all circumstances the lack of enthusiasm is nothing less than a national calamity. To-day the supreme interests of our race have ceased to inspire us. We seem to be guided by the consideration, “what do I stand to gain personally?” forgetting that the question of what humanity stands to gain—honour, enduring peace, liberty, justice, and the maintenance of lofty ideals—constitutes a more vital interest for Hellenism than anxiety as to what losses we may suffer through participation in the war.”

He sees in the war a phenomenon unique in history, destined ultimately to impose participation in it on the part of all races. From the outset he saw that it was not really a war but a world conflict. He vexed some of his more optimistic friends by the expression of this view a month or two after the outbreak of war. Some of us hoped it would be all over by the autumn. He then said, almost in the words he uses a year later, that this war was not really a war, it was a world revolution, a conflict from which no people could hope to hold aloof—

“It is a struggle between two world-conceptions, two sets of moral principles, two ways of thinking, two controlling ideas affecting the whole future of human

destiny. It is a battle to the finish between the Goliath of a mechanical Civilization and the David of an inspired Humanity—a fateful conflict between the democratic ideal of orderly advance in the direction of progress, and the imperialistic ideal, a violently retrogressive step in world-history.”

No one can avoid ultimate participation in this struggle, therefore no one can declare neutrality without automatically ranging himself on that side to which his neutrality is a distinct benefit.

He holds that the autumn of 1914 was the psychological moment for intervention, the moment foreseen in all the traditions and legends that had come down through the ages, the moment anxiously looked forward to during so many weary centuries. At that moment Venizelos seemed all-powerful, the King had not adopted the settled policy of neutrality, the nation longed to throw in its lot with the Entente, guided by the instinctive sentiment that England and France symbolized at that moment the principal elements of the democratic ideals of liberty, and the presentiment that the effacement of those ideals was equivalent to the extermination of Hellenism. In a passage of great force and grandeur of diction, lost in the process of translation, he shows what might have been the results of the intervention which M. Venizelos and himself so ardently desired to see carried out :

“ The abandonment of neutrality especially, in September, 1914, would have been a stroke of veritable genius. Intervention would have then appeared in the guise of a noble and vigorous outburst of selfless enthusiasm for the sacred principles of liberty which Germany had ruthlessly trampled underfoot in shameless and atrocious fashion. It would have constituted the protest of a race that had reconquered its independence in the name of the Liberty and Fraternity of Nations. It would have constituted an appeal to the majestic tribunal of the Peoples of the Earth,

independently of all narrower issues or of sympathy with one or other of the Great Powers.

“Such an abandonment of neutrality in last September would have so excited the imagination of the peoples, that at the very outset Greece would have had on her side the greatest of all Powers, the esteem and admiration of the Democracies of the world. Bulgaria and Roumania would have had to make the best of things, and would have had to follow the example of Greece. Italy too would have appeared to follow the lead of Greece, who with that one heroic proclamation would have saved Smyrna, not without cost, but certainly without greater sacrifices than those sustained in the Balkan Wars. She might even have found herself at the gates of Constantinople, long before the other claimants of that much coveted city could have put in an appearance. But above all she would have won and merited a more glorious crown than any that history has yet conferred upon her during her struggles on behalf of liberty, for she would have been regarded as one of the saviours of Europe from the onrush of barbarism which menaces her existence.”

This brilliant appeal concludes with the expression of the opinion that the salvation of Greece is intimately bound up with the measure of the support given to the policy of M. Venizelos. And in this all who are acquainted with the factors of the present situation in Greece must fully concur.

SUPPLEMENT

AN INDIVIDUALIST ON EDUCATION *

PARADOXES are always refreshing, and it is hard to imagine anything more paradoxical than the appearance of this book at this time. For eight years we have been watching the steady growth of State Socialism, to which the present crisis has superadded an ever-extending system of martial law; and it is at this juncture that our author sends forth his plea for the abolition of compulsory education. We remember reading, many years ago, with much pleasure a book by Sir R. K. Wilson on "The History of Modern English Law," which was largely a eulogy of Bentham and Benthamite ideals; and the author seems to have advanced along the road of *laissez faire* until he has attained a standpoint worthy of Auberon Herbert, whose individualist sallies were the delight of our youth.

The present work is mainly historical, taking as its text a treatise published in 1847 by the late Sir (then Mr.) Edward Baines; but its real interest lies in its exposition of the author's own views. He has a hearty dislike of the Church of England, and no less a dislike to "a new State Church by the side of the old one, with a new mass of desirable patronage under the new and less unpopular title of Education Department" (p. 58); and his ideal seems to be that of "restricting the educational action of Govern-

* "The First and Last Fight for the Voluntary Principle in Education (1846-1858)," by Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart. London: The Eastern Press, Ltd., April, 1915.

ment to that small residuum of unfree persons which must exist in even the freest community, such as paupers, prisoners, and children for whom there is no other possible guardian, and of securing for the guardians of all other children, for all adults wishing to learn, and for all persons wishing to teach or to provide teaching, an absolutely fair field, nothing less and nothing more, under the equal protection of the law" (p. 1). In short, paupers and criminals must be educated, and nobody else *need* be! We seem, as we read this, to be breathing the air of the Grand Academy of Lagado. The author's reasons for this somewhat striking conclusion appear to be two. (1) The cost of our educational system. "The knocking off of this thirty millions from the estimates and rates might mean—not to mention other good objects—a free breakfast-table and free justice for all classes" (p. 54). (2) "The demoralizing effect of our education policy makes itself felt in keeping alive religious animosities which, but for this and the existence of a State Church, might by this time have wellnigh disappeared" (p. 55). It is curious that it has not occurred to the author that if he could succeed in undoing all that has been done since 1870, the effect would simply be to stimulate educational effort by the Church, which at that date had nearly the whole of the then system of elementary education in its hands, and which believes, as the author seems to believe, "that secular education pretending to be a complete system of soul culture is miserably inadequate" (Preface, p. vii). Sir R. Wilson does not hope to see his grand ideal realized in his lifetime, but proposes as an instalment "in Great Britain and still more urgently in Ireland . . . firstly, the secular solution of the eternal religious difficulty; and secondly, *supposing that attained*, a very considerable diminution of the time devoted to State instruction" (Preface, p. vi). We do not think the Individualist reformers need trouble about "secondly." If they are going to enter into a conflict with the Church of England, and at the same time with the Roman Catholic Church in

England and Ireland, on the subject of religious education in elementary schools, they will have abundant occupation for the rest of their lives. And we think our author is conscious of this when he concludes his work with these words: "There will have to be a very complete change of heart (of which at present there is no sign) in both political parties, and on both sides of St. George's Channel, before we can hope to see the dawn of that era of educational peace and of friendly emulation of 'free schools in a free State,' the vision of which fired the imagination of this early Victorian champion of Voluntaryism" (p. 63).

W. W. CANNON.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

1. THE WAR SPEECHES OF WILLIAM PITT THE YOUNGER. Selected by R. Coupland, M.A. (Oxford: *The University Press*.) 8vo., pp. xlviii + 360. Price 2s. 6d. net.

This book is a well-timed one. Although Pitt's speeches have been available in several editions printed in the early part of the nineteenth century, they are not readily available for the average reader, and the *Oxford Press* are to be congratulated on having issued a selection of them in a cheap popular edition, which, in keeping with their other productions, is of handy size and a pleasure to the eye. Pitt's speeches contain so many expressions of opinion applicable to the present state of affairs in disturbed Europe that they repay study. When they were uttered, Europe was fighting for its liberty from the encroachment of a megalomaniac Frenchman. The Corsican Emperor, to whom modern France owes much of its institutions, wished to subjugate the Continent the better to inspire the European peoples with a sense of liberty. In the name of the principles of 1789, the French Convention threw the gauntlet to its neighbour; in so doing, it alienated England through the infringement of the principle of nationality in burying Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, and part of Italy under its rule. Now the position is reversed, but the sword of Britain has been drawn again for the defence of the smaller nations against the tyranny and oppression of stronger powers. The cost now made evident by a year of struggle may be compared with interest with that of the long wars in which, from 1790 until 1815, our forefathers were engaged. Then already India had borne her share of the financial expenditure, no less than half a million pounds being contributed in 1794; now her sons are pouring their blood on the battlefield amongst our own kin. Then Pitt asked, Shall we leave the Austrian Netherlands in the possession of the French? The reply is the same as that which the nation gives now to the invader of Belgium—an unequivocal negative. To analyze the work would be an idle task, to read it and to learn from it the lesson that the policy of Britain has not changed—that it is now a democratic one, a policy of continuity in the work of civilization, of protection of the rights of man against the encroachments of brute force—is a pleasure which can be commended to the whole of the English-speaking races.—H. L. J.

2. THE POEMS OF MU'TAMID, KING OF SEVILLE. Rendered into English Verse by Dulcie Lawrence Smith. (*John Murray*.)

One of the "Wisdom of the East Series." This book contains an introduction which is of almost equal interest to its poems. The general reader knows so little of the history of the Moors in Spain that it will be

news to him to learn that the author spent his early youth at Silves in Portugal, was Sultan of Seville, and died in poverty and exile with his beloved wife, who had won his love by the exchange of extempore couplets. The verses are less mystical than many oriental poems, but are pleasing and worthy of translation. One written after the Sultan's fall begins—

“ There lies an exile in a stranger's land,
And in another land an empty throne
Laments, and certain spears that rusted stand
Mourn for the Sheikh Mu'tamid overthrown.”

Another shows the worthlessness of worldliness

“ Woo not the world too rashly, for behold,
Beneath the painted silk and brodering,
It is a faithless and inconstant thing.
(Listen to me, Mu'tamid, growing old.) ”

for this was his own experience

INDIA

3 THE RAJPUTS. A FIGHTING RACE. By Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, M.R.A.S. (London: *East and West, Ltd.*). Price 21s. net.

Two thousand two hundred and forty-one years ago “the greatest military genius whom the world has seen,” Alexander the Great, acknowledged the chivalry and courage of his Rajput foe by restoring to him his kingdom, which the tactics of the Macedonian conqueror and the bravery of his Greek warriors had won for him on the battle-field of the Hydaspes. Evidently the world-conqueror was deeply moved at the sight of Poros, the Rajput prince, who, after fighting gallantly against him, could think of no other favour to ask from his conqueror than that of being treated as a foeman worthy of his steel. History records that Alexander not only restored Poros to the kingship, but also made extensive additions to his territory, thus winning a powerful friend in the Rajput chief. Europe came in contact with Oriental chivalry for the first time on the banks of the Indus and before the Christian era. Later on, in Saladin, the warriors of Europe met another foe whose chivalry not even the gloom of battle could dim. The Rajputs, however, have throughout their history jealously kept their escutcheon unsullied, and whatever the other martial races of the East may sometimes have done, under stress of circumstances, to soil their fame by deeds of cruelty, the Rajputs can show a noble record without a blemish, as a race of warriors who have never, even under the greatest temptation, unsheathed the sword in an unjust cause. They can truly claim to be the knights-errant of the East, *sans peur et sans reproche*.

Search where you will in the whole annals of Hindustan, from dim, distant past to the present day, you will find the record of the Rajputs is a glorious one of great achievements on the field of battle, both as honourable foes and staunch friends, and as the observers of the most rigid principles of conduct in ordinary life. That the Rajputs still maintain their traditions

untarnished is shown by the splendid rally round the throne of the Rajput chiefs in this moment of Britain's crisis. From one end of India to the other the Rajputs, from the ruling chief to the plain soldier, have risen like one man to place their sword at the service of the King-Emperor. They have traversed oceans and continents to fight their Emperor's battles in France and Flanders. They have already gained imperishable laurels.

Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia writes of these brave warriors, of their history and traditions, with naturally a very intimate knowledge, as he himself is a scion of the most illustrious Seesodia Royal House of Newar, a princely Rajput family of India. He has, in fact, aimed ambitiously at presenting within the short space of barely two hundred pages not only the history and traditions of the Rajputs, but also biographical details of the great representative men of his race. No one who knows the Rajputs will deny that he has accomplished his task in an admirable manner, but it is also impossible to deny that a people with a history like that of the Rajputs, going back to some thousands of years before the Christian era, naturally possess such a wealth of memorable events as cannot easily be compressed within the scope of one or two small volumes. Of the Rajputs it can justly be said that their history is the history of India.

The author has only cursorily glanced at some of the traditions of his race. One feels that he ought to have devoted more space than he has to the traditions of the Rajputs. One hears so much nowadays of the fearlessness of the Japanese in the face of death that he is apt to think of them as possessing that attribute exclusively. As a matter of fact, the Rajputs recognize no other manner of dying, so to say, no nobler end, than dying on the battle-field. The great law-giver of the Hindus says: "Should the King (a Kshatriya, a Rajput) draw near his end through some incurable disease, he should bestow on the priests all the riches accumulated from legal fines, and having duly committed his kingdom to his son, let him seek death in battle." In olden times the Rajput kings obeyed the injunction literally. Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia has omitted to mention the historical narrative of the famous Rajput chief of Jessalmere, a veteran warrior of four-score years, who implored his enemy, the Langah Prince of Multan, to give him an opportunity of dying on the battle-field with arms in his hands. The Ambassador of Rawal Chachick Dev, the aged chief of Jessalmere, had some difficulty in convincing the Moslem king that the Rajput chief's sole aim in seeking battle was to die fighting on the field, so that "his soul might escape by the steel of his foeman and not fall a sacrifice to slow disease." The gift of battle, *yudha-dhan*, was granted by the Moslem king, and seven hundred Rajput warriors who had fought at the side of their aged chief in many battles marched out for the last time to meet the Moslem army, singing the hymn of battle. The Rawal chief and his warriors fought their last battle as they had never fought before. They never returned from the field of battle. That the Rajput still regards death on the field of battle as the noblest end, the inspiring example of Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh conclusively proves. Here is a veteran Rajput

warrior, eighty years of age, who asks nothing of life now but to die with his sword in his hand. For him, as for every Rajput, death holds no terror.

One gets many intimate glimpses into the character of the Rajput through Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji's book. In these days, when militarism laughs at the moral obligations of scraps of paper, the code of honour of the martial Rajputs presents a striking contrast, and Rajput chivalry and patriotism afford inspiring examples to those who revel in savagery in warfare or shirk the responsibility of defending their country.

The author has very generously undertaken to devote half of the net profits accruing from the sale of his book to the Indian Widows' Fund, a fund deserving of the warmest support, not only of Englishmen and Englishwomen, but also of Britain's Allies, France, Russia, and Italy; for while thousands of Rajputs and other Indian soldiers have gallantly and cheerfully given their lives to uphold Britain and her Allies in the fight against unrighteous militarism, thousands of Indian women are now bearing silently and patiently with Oriental fortitude the crushing burden of widowhood.

J. C. ROOME.

4. SOUTH INDIAN BRONZES. AN Historical Survey of South Indian Sculpture, with Iconographical Notes based on original sources. By O. C. Gangoly.

In this well illustrated volume the author brings before us a number of Indian Bronzes, the age of which extends over more than ten centuries. Most of them are medieval, dating as far back as the ninth century, A.D., and others modern (chiefly reproductions), as late as 1908.

It was a happy thought of Mr. Gangoly to accompany his illustrations with descriptive notes derived from sculptor's handbooks, based on original sources, *i.e.*, three Sanscrit manuscripts dealing with the image-maker's canon, known under the names of Agastya, Kasyapa, and Bramhiya; these Mr. Gangoly has for the first time utilized. It is true that Dr. Coomaraswamy has, some time ago, also made quotations from an imager's technical book in his learned essay on "Aims of Indian Art," but Mr. Gangoly covers in his work a much larger field.

The numerous examples of bronzes (over a hundred) which he illustrates in his volume come chiefly from great Hindu shrines and various temple-cities in the South, some from the Colombo Museum, a few from European collections.

In his first chapter the author tells us that he has made a special study of the old Dravidian sculpture, a style which was prevalent in Southern India before the Aryan civilization reached the Dravidian people; this enabled the author to trace the older influence in the succeeding art development.

Agastya was the first Aryan missionary who, about 750 B.C., penetrated into the Malia-kantara—the great forest of Southern India. It was he who wrote one of the earliest works on image-making, religion and art being so closely connected in India. In this work, which is called after him the "Agastya," he puts down rules as to measurements, preparation of clay and

colour, selection of wood, and the proficiency of image-making in general. His follower, Kasiabat, wrote a still more elaborate work on South Indian sculpture, known under the name of "Kasyapia." It is a book which is regarded as the authoritative one by all the old and succeeding sculptors of India, and even up to the present day young pupils are made to learn by heart the rules of construction and measurements of images laid down therein. These measurements, applied in these pages to figures, movements of arms, legs and hands, form not the least interesting and entertaining part of Mr. Gangoly's learned work.

Yet another book on art, chiefly connected with the cult of Siva, was written by Nagnapit. Unfortunately only three names of Indian artists of those remote times have come down to us: Jaja, Paraja, and Ryaya; they flourished under the great Chola kings, who are known to have endowed their temples with numerous images and most munificent gifts. Yet none of the known specimens of bronzes or sculptures can be identified with their names, like so many early Gothic image-makers, they worked for their cathedrals, unregardful of their names being handed down to posterity. But the author assures us that many of the older examples described and reproduced in his book represent their styles to a certain extent, more notably the frontispiece, representing the goddess Parvai Nachyar, one of the consorts of Sundaramurti, who in Tamil's sacred literature is designated as being the companion of the gods.

Siva. This image has been dedicated to the Brihadeswar Temple at Tanjore, by a Commander-in-Chief to the son of the famous Chola king, Raja-Raja. It is one of the finest examples of South Indian bronzes. Sundaramurti himself is represented on Plate XXX. as belonging to the same period, and likewise at Tanjore. But it is Plate I. which attracts us most. It presents the chief deity of Southern India, Siva, the destroyer of time and death. This famous bronze figure is supposed to date from the tenth century, and belongs likewise to the Brihadeswar Temple collection. It corresponds with the canons laid down in the "Kasyapia," according to which "this god should be modelled as with the right leg resting on the lotus-pedestal; the left leg raised with the foot drawn up and with the toe placed on the bosom of Kala; the god should have a face with beautiful teeth, three eyes and a crown of jatamukata; he should have four or eight hands; the first right hand should have the sula (a sharp-edged axe) raised up to the ear, whilst the other right hand should have the gift-bestowing symbol; the left hands should suggest surprise." Such are the rules to be followed by the image-makers.

Plate III. gives us another interesting bronze figure of Siva, seated with the goddess Parvati, his wife (who is also known as Gouri). This group, one of the oldest, dates from the sixth century and is at the Rijks Museum at Leiden. The following nine plates represent Nataraja, "the dancing god," another of the sixteen forms of Siva. The image illustrated on Plate III. is by far the best of the number. It dates from the ninth century and is in the Tanjore Temple collection. We find another conception of the dancing god at the Musée Guimet, and at Colombo, but of later date and inferior. A finer example is the Nataraja of the Madras Museum.

Plate XII. illustrates a modern image done by an hereditary artist as late as 1908, faithful to the same old canons and measurements as put down in the above-named sculptor's handbooks. On Plate XIII. the author gives us an illustration of Gajahan-murti, another form of Siva, in which he killed an elephant. It is a modern copy of an ancient image in the shrine of a temple, and is weird and symbolical in conception. Mr. Gangoly would have it compared with the Greek Laocoon; but we cannot follow him there, for the simple reason that the two respective artists had absolutely different aims and different standpoints. Their work cannot therefore be brought into juxtaposition. Nor can the "Treatise on Proportion" by Polykleitos, which is supposed to form the basis of his Doryphoros, be brought together with the canons put down in the above-mentioned ancient Indian sketch-books, the chief aim of the Greek artist being to display in his marble statue the beauty of a perfect human figure, an aim which is in the symbolical art of India purposely repudiated.

Yet another form of Siva, the Brishnava-Bahana, namely, "He whose vehicle is the Bull," is illustrated in the last plate. The characteristic pattern of this image is outlined in a verse of the "Agastya": "Having a hand reaching the thigh by its middle finger about the centre, the other two hands carrying the deer and the weapon; having the coronet of matted locks." At the left side of the image is the goddess Uma, conceived in the samavanga pose, with one of her hands carrying the flower, the other hand hanging down; the crossed leg is also suggested by a passage in the text. The bronze statuette of a Mahratta prince, with an attendant in respectful attitude, in a garment and headgear that almost suggests the fashions of the present day, commands our attention, as it is the only figure in the book which does not represent a divinity. Mr. Gangoly very advisedly compares it with the marble statue of the same prince at the Darbar Hall in Tanjore.

Space will not allow us to dwell any longer on the other numerous specimens of this interesting selection of Indian Bronzes, which testify again what the author of this learned book and other exponents of Indian art have rightly asserted—that Indian art from its very beginnings has always been eminently religious. Indeed, its aim is summed up in one of the imagers' technical books, the "Rupavalya," where image-makers are advised to attain to the images of gods and saints by means of spiritual contemplation only; it is spiritual vision they should depend on, and not on objects which they perceive by their external senses. Only expression of character and moral quality, not anything which is temporary, fleeting, or accidental ought to be considered. In short, the conscious aim of Indian art has always been the portrayal of divinity, and it had to submit to the canons put down by saints and priests in the temples; these canons were, moreover, most rigorous, to the extent that if the measurements be out by even half an inch, the result was to be loss of wealth, or death. Thus the framers of the canons evidently desired to maintain their traditional rules.

From the above the conclusion must, perforce, be drawn that these so rigidly prescribed measurements and rules must have severely hampered

the free development of the individual artist, always expected to closely follow them, century after century, even up to the present day; a proof of this lies in the irrefutable fact that Indian art really had reached its highest perfection centuries ago, when some of the above-named bronzes were cast, and when that great unknown artist created the three-headed sculpture, known under the name of "Trimurti," at the Siva Temple in Elephanta, where Siva, with frowning brows, holding the serpent as symbol of life, death, and reincarnation, is the third of the three aspects, another being Parvati, his consort, as creatrix. This image is perhaps even surpassed in merit by the three-headed Brahmah which Mr. Havell has identified as the Hermes of the Indian Parthenon at Elephanta, executed by another great artist whose name, as so many of his contemporaries, has passed into oblivion. Since, Indian art has comparatively ceased to progress, generations of artists evidently not caring nor daring to transgress on the prescribed canons and rules, but often only copying and recopying the great originals before them.

In conclusion, we express the hope that Mr. Gangoly's handsome volume, with its learned contents, may meet with all the appreciation and encouragement which the subject and the treatment of it both incontestably deserve.—L. M. R.

5. THE ARYA-SAMAJ. By Lajpat Rai. (*Longmans, Green and Co.*)

Professor Sidney Webb, in his introduction, cautiously describes the Arya-Samaj as "what may possibly prove to be the most important religious movement in the whole of India," and believes that this is the first work published in the United Kingdom dealing with it. Aiming at a religion founded on reforming the tainted Vedic beliefs and restoring them to their purity, Ram Mohan Roy and Keshub Chunder Sen founded and continued the Brahmo-Samaj, but, the author points out, its voice soon became a mere wail in the wilderness, its doctrines "resembling more the Unitarian Church than the Monotheism of the Vedas or the Vedicism of Ram Mohan Roy." Then arose the Swami Dayanandra (1824-1883), a man of profound Vedantic learning and piety, the founder of the new movement which, its followers think, will, through its enlightened outlook, appeal to the natives of India, and by its zeal for education and purity of aim regenerate Hinduism, while still basing its religion and moral code on Vedic sources. Monotheistic, as the text, "He is one, Sages call Him by many names," shows, the writer claims that "the monotheism of (no doubt ancient) Hinduism is of the highest, most exclusive, and most exalted kind." To this belief is conjoined reform in caste, making the degrees personal and not hereditary, and many more social changes and reforms; but always under a Hindu or national guise. The first "Arya-Samaj" was established in 1875. Its influence rapidly spread over Upper India. Aiming at education on Hindu lines, colleges were formed and *shuddhi* work prosecuted. This is not, perhaps, the place to tell how the adherents of the Arya-Samaj (like other Reformers) have been considered disloyal by their Government, while persisting desperately in the avowal that they

were only restoring an ancient faith from the accretions of multitudinous and decadent ages.—A. F. S.

6. A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SIKHS. By C. H. Payne, M.A. (*Thomas Nelson and Sons.*)

This is an excellent short history of the *Khálsa* founded by Babá Nanak in 1469. It is a stirring story of the desire for reformation which produced the Sikhs ("disciples"). Guru Govind Singh abolished caste within the *Khálsa*, and made his people a military nation. Sati was forbidden (but there were lapses), and many reforms were instituted. The new people had to endure much persecution from the Mohammedans, and, indeed, were almost overcome, yet we find them overrunning the Panjab, and settling their rule in *misl*s on the fall of their opponents. They early obtained the admiration of the British. Sir John Malcolm described a "*gurumata*" as a place where "every man sacrifices his personal feelings at the shrine of the general good." The most remarkable product of the Sikhs was the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who by intrigue, personal powers, and heroic qualities, it may be, won for himself a kingdom of great extent in the Panjab. His loyalty and friendliness to the British Raj, once he had encountered it, is well told in this work, and also the sad succession of his unworthy followers. This book is illustrated with portraits of the Sikh rulers, and it contains information which makes one wonder what the Sikh kingdom might have become had the line of succession been more fixed, the reforms more sincere (some of Ranjit Singh's wives committed *sati* at his death, in spite of the prohibition), and chiefs less self-seeking and turbulent. The author does full justice to the good work the Sikhs have done since they have become our fellow-subjects.—A. F. S.

7. SHIVÁJI, THE MARÁTHA: HIS LIFE AND TIMES. By H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S. (Oxford: *The Clarendon Press.*)

A very short but eminently scholarly, readable, and excellent book is this, which gives us the life-history of the greatest of the Maráthas, who carved out his principality from that of the decadent Mohammedan kingdoms of the Dekhan and from the Moghul Empire. It shows him to have been an enlightened ruler, chivalrous in the main (in spite of the murder of Afzal Khan), brave, and for his period not cruel. From a petty chief he rose to be ruler of the Dekhan, was crowned Maharaj at Ráigad, and died aged only fifty-three on April 5, 1680, or as a Persian writer quoted in this work records his end, "on that day the Kaffir went to Hell." No research has been spared in making this book as valuable as it is readable. Interesting chapters are given on Shiváji's great achievements, his economic reforms, and his administrative powers. The Marátha ballad of Singhad is translated in an Appendix, and another contains the little-known relations between Shiváji and the poets of the Marátha revival.

8. P. B. MALABARI. *Rambles with the Pilgrim Reformer.* By Sirdar Jogendra Singh. With a foreword by Sir Valentine Chirol. (London: *G. Bell and Sons, Ltd.* 1914.) Price 1 rupee.

This little memoir of the late P. B. Malabari forms a most interesting volume. It should be studied by all who have any love for the peoples of India, especially those who share the Pilgrim Reformer's ideas concerning the disadvantages of early child betrothals and marriages. This work is written in a clear and lucid style, and through its pages there glows that Divine love of man to man which is sorely needed in these strenuous times.—S.

THE BALKAN QUESTION.

9. *THE NEAR EAST FROM WITHIN.* Anonymous. (*Cassell.*) Price 10s. 6d. net.

No sermon could teach more than "The Near East from Within." If it is read aright, it will supply our diplomats with an armoury of warnings and serve as a beacon.

It is a narrative of the Kaiser's intrigues in the Balkans and Turkey that stagger the power of belief; but there is no getting away from the truth of it. The author, who has exposed the inmost soul of the Kaiser, says: "In the great struggle the German Emperor has not neglected one single chance nor hesitated to adopt any means, so long as his plans were forwarded."

There has been no more tremendous instance of the madness of insatiable ambition than this of the Kaiser who aspires to rule the world. To a man like the Kaiser, who wants to dazzle and astonish, and has always been gaining and winning, getting the better of his fellows and sacrificing more and more freely at the shrine of his own self-importance, the words of Ulysses have a tragic ring: "How dull it is to pause and make an end." His tongue is the tongue of a saint, and even when he owns to any doubtful transaction, he takes care to let you know that he was actuated by the sweetest and purest motives. This Lucifer of rascals who has drenched the world with blood regards himself as the deputy of the Supreme Being, and has gone about his crimes with a full faith in his own blamelessness. He reminds me of the great scene in which Milton reaches the climax of his power, when Satan, standing "in shape and gesture proudly eminent" among his peers, moved them to mad revolt.

"He spake, and, to confirm his words, outflew
Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs
Of mighty cherubims. The sudden blaze
Far round illumined hell, highly they raged
Against the highest, and fierce with grasped arms
Clashed on their sounding shields the din of war,
Hurling defiance toward the vault of heaven."

And yet, in spite of the millions of swords and years of intriguing, the Kaiser to-day is the chip on the wave instead of the watch-tower on the shore.—OLIVER BAINBRIDGE.

10. THE WAR AND THE BALKANS. By Noel Buxton, M.P., and Charles Roden Buxton. (*George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.*) Price 1s. net.

Most of the vexed questions of the day and many of the Balkan problems which tax the ingenuity of statesmen would be solved at once and without trouble were all men imbued with the same spirit of fairness as the authors of "The War and the Balkans."

They display a polished candour which gives up no point that ought to be defended, that neglects no protest which ought to be made, and yet avoids the useless clash of opposites that it is the delight of the aggressively candid man to produce. The feelings of the authors are most intimately bound up with the Balkans, and they are sincere without being offensive. They seem to have adopted the maxim of Francis de Sales that "a judicious silence is always better than truth spoken without charity."

It is to be hoped that the Quadruple Entente will act upon the suggestion of the authors, and bring about a territorial readjustment upon the basis of nationalities. This may involve a little struggle on the part of the Balkan peoples, who have long cherished sharp-edged differences; but if they are studious of their own good, they will act by the dictates of reason and reflection, and accept the terms of the Quadruple Entente. Conscience would be the steady ruler of their lives, and the words truth, law, reason, equity, and religion would be but synonymous terms for that only guide which makes us pass our days in our own favour and approbation.

It is as much to the interest of the Quadruple Entente themselves as of the world at large that the Balkan States should be united and equipped with all the moral and intellectual aptitudes which are requisite to enable them to take part in the progress and development of Europe of which they are such worthy and important members.

"The War and the Balkans" is one of the healthiest books of the Balkan library, and should do much towards placing the hydra-headed Near Eastern question in its proper light.—OLIVER BAINBRIDGE.

A new book describing the long-established and sympathetic connection between the peoples of Greece and England will be issued by the Faith House during the present month. The work is entitled, "Hellenism in England," and the authors are Dr. Theodore Dowling and Mr. E. W. Fletcher, F.S.A. His Excellency the Greek Ambassador contributes an Introduction of some fifty pages, which will be read with special interest at the present moment.

THE FAR EAST

11. LIGHT FROM THE EAST: STUDIES IN JAPANESE CONFUCIANISM. By Robert C. Armstrong, PH.D., Kobé, Japan. Published by the University of Toronto.

This book is an interesting contribution to the study of Japanese Confucianism. The author has adopted a plan which permits of studying the

variations upon the original Confucian thought introduced by scholars and thinkers during the whole history of Japan.

Confucianism, as a system of ethics, commended itself to the learned classes as much as the Zen sect of Buddhism to the Samurai, but the scholars were as fond of splitting hair as any Christian philosopher or German psychologist, and much of their lucubrations are long-winded speculations, almost always intolerant of the opinions of others.

This book is based on Japanese treatises of recent date, and if one judges from the bibliography, a motley crowd of books on European languages as well. It must be read with caution, for it abounds in mis-transliterations, in Chinese words read *more japonico*, and it has a sting in its tail, or we might say two stings. One is the essay by a Japanese Christian, Ebina Danjo, who, as is the wont of his intolerant prototypes, boldly states that Confucianism paved the way for Christianity, adds that Christianity is the final truth, and goes on to say that Confucianism is dead in its form—not altogether the truth, and even if it were it would only be a small loss if its *spirit* remains, for its ethics are nearer the positive morality than all the shades and varieties of rigmaroles which the Gospel-monger throws at the heads of Asiatics for the sake of his own comfort. Thus one sting. The other is of the same origin. The book is apparently issued by the “forward department movement of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church” in Toronto, and although the author does not put forward any very definite plea for the said “forward movement,” one feels that some bias exists. It is curious to note what a crop of books on the religion of India, China, and the East generally are issued under the ægis of missionary societies or from the pen of their members; and although there are doubtless honest scholars amongst them, their exposition of doctrines alien to their own way of thinking and of conceptions foreign to those which they make their business to teach, cannot be expected to be unbiassed. Mr. Armstrong has not fallen altogether in that fault, because he has relied chiefly on Japanese authorities. Nevertheless, the Ebina chapter gives the book a one-sided turn much to be regretted by un-prejudiced students.—H. L. J.

12. FUR AND FEATHER IN NORTH CHINA. By Arthur de C. Sowerby.
(*The Tientsin Press, Ltd., Tientsin.*)

The author is a naturalist as well as a sportsman. Reading through the essays which constitute the book, some of which were contributed to Chinese papers, it is evident that he does not use his gun for the mere sake of “making a bag.” He loves Nature and the beasts of the field and the forest, and he seeks to draw the resident in China towards a better knowledge and understanding of the fauna of the region without burdening his pages with technicalities.

The book is well illustrated, and the tone blocks are creditable work if one considers the difficulties which beset their production in China. But the author has done better than merely giving us photographs; he has cultivated a facile brush, and illustrated his pages with line sketches, in

which the Chinese technique is all-evident. Particularly simple and effective in treatment are some of his drawings—*e.g.*, the jerboa, p. 66; of birds, *e.g.*, p. 148; or of Radde's toad stalking a water-beetle. One wonders, however, why the Japanese name *Shika* (a deer), applied to *Cervus hortulorum*, has become *h*-less, on pp. 13-14; and also whence that Germanic spelling *tschiliensis*! on p. 47, and again in the index. We know that China is deeply peppered with Germans, but her *Canis lupus* might nevertheless remain neutral. We hope the book will find a ready public.—J.

RECENT FICTION.

13. MARIA AGAIN. By Mrs. John Lane. (*John Lane*.)

Mrs. Lane gives us more of her inimitable Maria, whose spirit is as ambitious as ever, whose vitality is as buoyant. We follow that amazing votaress of fashion along all the blind alleys of worldly living and up to the tiptop nothings of society, not because we have her faith in their importance, but because she captivates us.

There is nothing mordant in Mrs. Lane's wit. She conveys all the essentials of Maria's unflagging pursuit of unessentials with exactly the right sense of their seriousness to Maria and of their diversion to her companion.

Maria would never have revealed herself to a mordant critic. Through Mrs. Lane's eyes we see her, charming always, and not the less so because of her passion for the prevailing tinsel.

14. A FAR COUNTRY. By Winston Churchill. (*Macmillan and Co.*)

I am sorry to say it, but I think Hugh Paret a prig! I am sorry, because when anyone takes the pains to write a biography as voluminously and as carefully as Mr. Churchill has enabled Hugh to write his, it seems ungrateful to be so bored by it as I have been in reading "A Far Country." The grandiloquence, the studied analysis of Hugh's very normal childish experiences, left me tired before I had embarked upon his grown-up adventures. The experiences seemed so understandable by their bare selves, and would, I thought, have been so much more readable had they been unaccompanied by such tremendously imposing analysis and reflection. Mr. Churchill has laden the memories of Hugh Paret—often charming enough in themselves—with far too many words, and such ponderous words! Vivid incidents are literally immured in a composition suggesting a blend of an admiration for the manner of Mr. Wells and a respect for the language of Dr. Johnson. For a schoolboy to "recall a curious bifurcation" in his attitude towards his first experience of sexual irregularity, and to expound that bifurcation in the following passage, merely leaves us impressed by the powers of the dictionary, and not a little nervous of possible tri- or quadro-furcations in maturer episodes:

"Instead of experiencing that automatic righteous indignation which my father and mother had felt . . . there welled up within me an intense

sympathy and pity. By an instinctive process somehow linked with other experiences, I seemed to be able to enter into the feelings of these two outcasts, to understand the fearful yet fascinating nature of the impulse that had led them to elude the vigilance and probity of a world with which I myself was at odds." There is a good deal more, but this is enough to excite our curiosity as to whether, without the opportunity of using all these vocabularic accessories, the writer would have felt drawn to recall the bifurcation. Indeed, the whole book leaves us with the impression that Mr. Churchill has applied a most undoubtedly commanding pen to nothing particularly new or interesting in the way of dramatic material.—I. C. W.

CURRENT PERIODICALS

The *PIONEER MAIL* for September 11, 1915, gives a report of a remarkable lecture delivered by Dr. D. B. Spooner, of the Archæological Department, before the Punjab Historical Society at Simla, on Mr. Ratan Tata's excavations at Pataliputra, on September 6.

Dr. Spooner's lecture was of extraordinary interest, as it proves that Pataliputra was built 2,400 years ago by the Persian invaders who overran all Northern and Western India and founded the Mauryan Dynasty, bringing with them from Persia not only the architecture, but also the faith and customs of the Zoroastrian fire-worshippers of Persepolis, including the Zoroastrian custom of using women as Royal Guards (our Women's Volunteer Corps have cause for deep satisfaction in that they have found a more active career than adorning an archway at the Horse Guards). Pataliputra, said Dr. Spooner, is the most famous of all the cities of the past in India, and the one of which we have most detailed notices. The Buddha himself witnessed the building of its first great wooden rampart. The prophecy of the city's future greatness which he made was abundantly fulfilled, and the city, built originally in the beginning of the fifth century B.C., had advanced to the rank of capital early in the fourth.

The site chosen for the excavations was that field near the village of Kumrahar, south of Patna, where Colonel Waddell had recovered a few fragments of a polished column of clearly Mauryan date. The Colonel thought his fragments must be remnants of one of those two isolated edict pillars which were standing in the Mauryan capital in the seventh century. Dr. Spooner dug three wide trenches across this site. A maze of brick walls was encountered just below the surface, which were shown to belong to the eighth century A.D., but the result of further excavation was the location of at least five rows of columns with six pillars in each row. Close examination revealed the fact that the building had been destroyed by fire. The first season's work disclosed a vast hall, with rows of columns evenly spaced over the whole area, or arranged in square bays. No building of this exact type was known in really ancient India, and various facts taken together warrant the conclusion that the building was a copy of the famous throne-room of Darius. A wider survey of the

site showed that other mounds corresponded in position to buildings of the palace of Darius at Persepolis, that the group of buildings stood on a raised plateau, as did the halls and palaces at Persepolis, and that the sculptural decorations were identical. Having established the close similarity of the palaces of Darius at Persepolis and Chandragupta at Pataliputra, Dr. Spooner proceeded to discuss the probability of Chandragupta himself being a Persian, which he said was, to his mind, a certainty. This theory of Persian origin of Chandragupta appeared to be fully borne out by everything on record of the Court and institutions of the monarch, who followed Persian customs, not only in public works and penal regulations, but also in such personal matters as the washing of his royal hair according to the Persian calendar, and in other ways.

The MADRAS TIMES of September 3 comments on a speech by Lord Carmichael, who is now Governor of Bengal, at Krishnagar :

"Lord Carmichael described to his hearers at Krishnagar the way in which he has picked up such knowledge of India as he possesses. 'My officers everywhere have helped me; they have, both Englishmen and Indians, given me of their best.' In these words there is the note of the wise administrator. Lord Carmichael has sought information from all sides. He has not accepted the views either of Europeans or of Indians alone, but has made himself accessible to all. And one thing more; he has not been content to accept officials' statements as axioms to work upon, for he says that when officials have stated to him what they consider to be the wants of the people, they have also 'explained their reasons for thinking so.' Lord Carmichael has got on well with the Bengalees, but it has not been by weakly agreeing to do whatever they might happen to want. In his speech he hints that there have at times been differences between the popular opinion and his own. He is referring, no doubt, to the partition of Mymensingh, which he decided to carry out notwithstanding the fact that there was a popular outcry against the partition. 'A Governor, says Lord Carmichael very truly, 'must often give weight to his own judgment,' and 'may even feel justified in acting on it, whatever others may say.' And we imagine that the Bengalees respect Lord Carmichael none the less because, in the face of popular clamour, he decided upon doing at Mymensingh what he conscientiously thought best for the country."

The INDIAN REVIEW for August 1915, in an article on "Indian Industrial Expansion after the War," by Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., remarks :

"It cannot be doubted that the relations of India with the rest of the British Empire, and particularly with the United Kingdom, will be profoundly altered by the War. It is already admitted in London that the part borne by the great self-governing dominions will entitle them to a larger representation in the Imperial Councils than they have hitherto possessed. But not even the most powerful or the most enthusiastic of

the other members of our glorious Imperial family of nations has done more splendid work than India. At the first sound of danger to the Empire, there was a magnificent outburst of loyalty and martial ardour from Peshawar to Tuticorin, and from Quetta to Mandalay, which was shared alike by mighty Princes, like the Maharaja of Mysore and the Nizam, and by the humblest raiyats of Bengal and the Deccan. And since then in every one of the theatres of war, whether in Flanders or at the Dardanelles, whether in the Persian Gulf or in Africa, Indian valour has been conspicuous, and our gallant Indian troops have been acclaimed as worthy comrades by Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders, equally with Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Irishmen. In these circumstances, ancient jealousies and obsolete prejudices will necessarily disappear—and the happy results will be seen—not merely in politics and administration, but also in the world of industry and commerce.”

The August number of the *HINDUSTAN REVIEW* makes a plea for reviving the village Panchayats in Southern India, in an article by Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L. He declares that of most subjects connected with local self-government this is perhaps the most difficult.

The history of village administration shows that if we want to restore to the village some of its old vitality we should, if possible, devise means to give back to its assembly some powers to keep in check, if not elect, its own headman, to make him its real mouthpiece and to make him its representative rather than the automaton of Government in it. We must, in fact, endeavour to make the village assembly the more important factor in village life than the village headman. If we did this, we would be restoring to some extent to the village its old power of initiative. This would enable it to some extent at least to look to its local wants, and devise ways and means to meet them. While the village headman represents it to the outside world, the assembly itself would look to local requirements, and thus help to keep the village, both internally and externally, a self-contained unit.

The same subject is treated in the *WEDNESDAY REVIEW* of August 18, 1915, in a leader. The view is expressed that “the HINDU has done a public service by publishing a memorandum on the subject of the village Panchayats, prepared by the late Dewan C. Rangacharlu. In view of the fact that the Madras Government have taken in hand the question, and if the report be true, they are preparing a Bill to be introduced in the Legislative Council, the publication of the memorandum is quite opportune, and coming from one who enjoyed a well-earned reputation for far-sighted statesmanship, it must be of great value to the Government in framing their Bill. The memorandum which was submitted by Mr. Rangacharlu to the Inam Commissioner, Mr. G. N. Taylor, was pronounced by him to be no less theoretically sound, than practically feasible. If the recommendations made some fifty years ago were declared to be feasible, they must be more so now when the people of the country have had a pretty

long training in the art of local self-government, and have had their capacity improved to manage their local affairs."

In the ISLAMIC REVIEW of September, 1915, Professor Leon describes his impressions of the I'd-ul-Fitr celebration at Woking. He writes:

"As the burning rays of the sun shone upon and with refulgent light illumined the gilded tips of the horns of *al hilal* on the summit of the *Qubba* of the mosque, arose in accents sonorous and clear from the throat of the muezzin the musical and inspiring tones of the *azan*, and in five solid ranks, with shoulders touching, the True Believers stood, and, following the Imam, repeated the quintuple cry of *Allah-akbar!* (God is Almighty!) and joined in a solemn prayer, while tears of joy and of thankfulness to Allah for all His mercy and goodness silently coursed down the cheeks of many of those present.

"'Twas thus we said our I'd-ul-Fitr prayer in the year 1333 of the glorious Hijrah of our glorious Prophet. A spirit of true brotherhood was also visible at the luncheon and afternoon tea, offered to the whole assembly by the Imam of the Woking mosque."

Frank H Simonds, editor of the NEW YORK EVENING SUN, writes in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for September, 1915, on "One Year of War." He finds the reasons of Germany's failure to achieve what she set out to do in the following:

"Notwithstanding her great success, it is plain that the real prize has so far, if not permanently, slipped through Germany's fingers. What has been the cause of this failure? Why have the most splendid army and the most perfect national organization, despite the most complete and systematic preparation, missed a decision against disorganized, if collectively stronger, foes?"

"Plainly because German science and German foresight failed to reckon with the imponderables—above all, with the national spirit and patriotism of other races.

"The invasion of Belgium was not the military mistake it seemed to most of us in the opening days of the war. The Belgian army did not interrupt German plans or assure German defeat, as has been said so often. But it did rouse the moral sense of Europe. It did give to every Frenchman, to every Englishman, precisely that inspiration which adds the decisive force in close contests. More than all else it explains the presence of Italy in the battle-lines to-day. It assured the presence of the British in France in the opening days of the war."

BOOKS RECEIVED

INDIA.—"Elements of Hindu Iconography," by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, vol. i., parts 1 and 2. The Law Printing House, Madras.—"The Great War of Ancient India," by Thakur Rajendra Singh. The Indian Press,

Allahabad ; 1 rupee 8 annas.—“Legends of Vikrama,” by Thakur Rajendra Singh. The Indian Press, Allahabad ; 2 rupees 8 annas.—“The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai,” vol. iii. Government Press, Madras ; 4s. 6d.—“Coorg Inscriptions,” vol. i., by B. Lewis Rice, C.I.E. Government Press, Madras ; 8s.—“Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Frontier Circle,” for 1914-15. Commercial Press, Peshawar ; 4d.—“Shivaji the Maharatha,” by H. G. Rawlinson, M.A. Clarendon Press ; 2s. 6d. net.—“The English Factories in India,” by Wm. Foster, C.I.E. Clarendon Press ; 12s. net.

MISCELLANEOUS.—“Lord Kitchener and his Work in Palestine,” by Dr. Samuel Daiches. Luzac and Co. ; 2s. 6d.—“Guy and Pauline,” by Compton Mackenzie. Martin Secker ; 6s.

PERIODICALS RECEIVED

“United Empire,” “Current Opinion,” “Public Opinion,” “The Madras Mail,” “The Quest,” “The Saturday Review,” “The Near East,” “The Bombay Gazette,” “Review of Reviews,” “The Hindustan Review,” “The Pioneer,” “The Indian Review,” “The Homeward Mail,” “The Commonwealth,” “The Indiaman,” “The Leader,” “The Modern Review,” “The Indian Emigrant,” “The Atlantic Monthly,” “Indische Gids,” “Ararat,” “The Moslem World,” “La Revue,” “The Canadian Gazette,” “La Revue Politique Internationale,” “The Theosophist,” “The Islamic Review,” “The Philomath,” “The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1914-15.”

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

THE FIRST IRON-CLAD WARSHIP

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

DEAR SIR,

I was disappointed in the article on the Japanese soldier in your last number, for while the author says, "In old Japanese prints of the sea-battle of Dan-no-ura and other naval engagements, it is seen that those who manned vessels were, like the military classes, provided with metal and lacquered armour (chain or plated) from crown to toe," he does not mention the first iron-clad warship in which the Koreans defeated the Japanese in 1590. This battleship is of unusual interest at the present moment in view of modern naval developments. Oliver Bainbridge, the well-known traveller and writer, says, in writing of Korea: "When Hideyoshi, the Japanese General, landed in the southern part of Korea, about 1590, with a huge army, and forced his way northward with the intention of crossing the border and crushing the Ming Empire; he found the Koreans, who had been at peace for many centuries, were too weak to resist him, and decided to wait at Pyen-yang for reinforcements, as he learned the Chinese army was larger and more powerful than his own. The Koreans knew that if Hideyoshi was successful they would

be crushed, and their famous Admiral, Yi, was commanded by the King, who had fled from his capital, to prevent the Japanese landing more men. The Admiral proved himself equal to the task, and invented the 'Keni-Sun,' a peculiar tortoise-shaped boat covered with iron plates and armed with a powerful ram. With this formidable warship the Admiral waited for the Japanese fleet of several hundred boats, which he attacked with great skill, destroying the largest and putting the others to flight. The Japanese thought that some monster had risen from the deep, for they could not see the Korean rowers, whose oars urged the iron-clad through the sea as fast as a gale of wind could have driven her. Hideyoshi heard the news of the monster, and made his way back to Japan as speedily as circumstances would permit."

There is a celebration held in Korea every year in memory of the victories of the first iron-clad warship.

I am, sir,

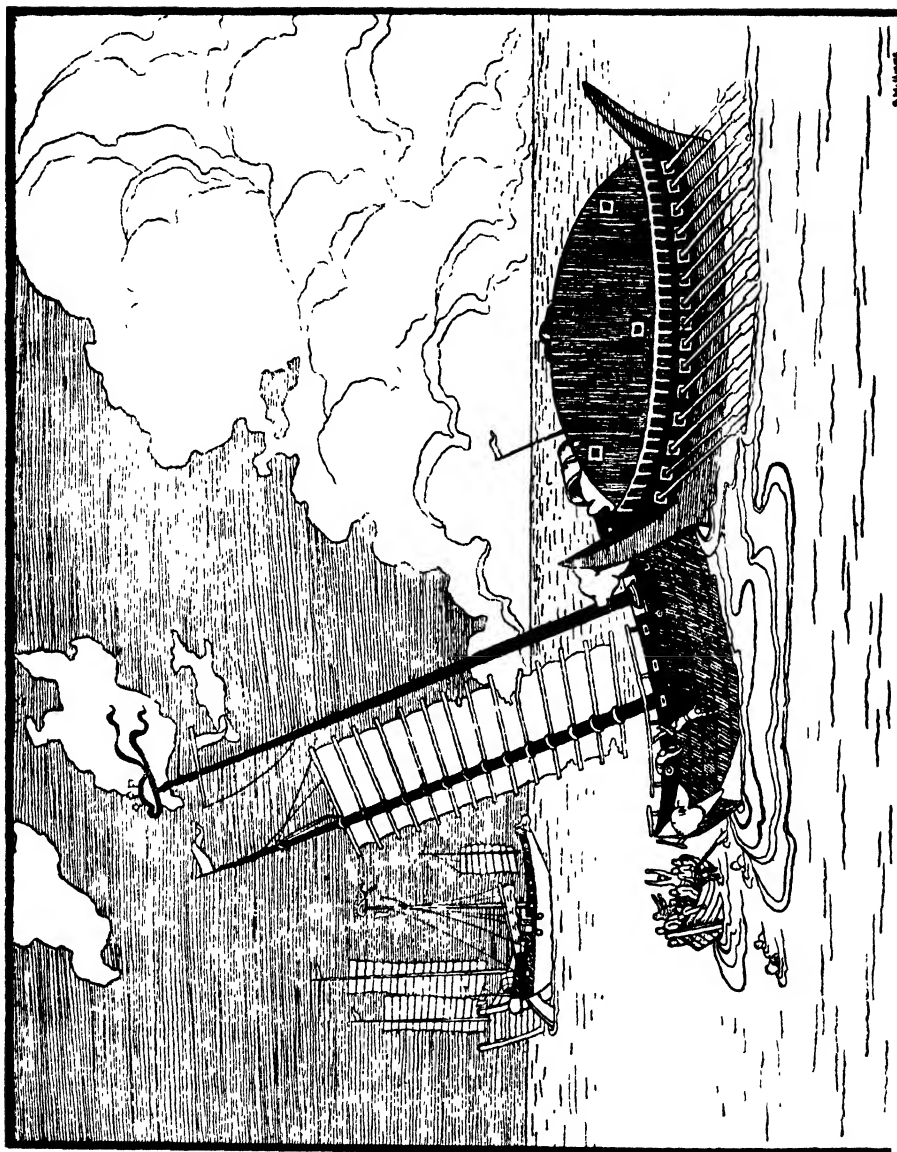
Your obedient servant,

M. SYLVESTRE*

(M. E. H. Tyrwhitt-Drake).

LYCEUM CLUB.

* Author of "Valencia Varelet," "The Light-Bearers," etc.



OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Hugh Walmsley, Indian Civil Service, to be a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, in succession to Mr. H. R. H. Coxe, Indian Civil Service, who will shortly vacate his seat on the Bench.

The Secretary of State for India has made the following appointments to the Indian Educational Service :

Mr. Harold Tinker, B.Sc. (London), to be Professor at the Training College, Allahabad.

Mr. George Hender Geach, B.A. (Wales), M.A. (Cantab), to be Principal of the Training College, Peshawar.

Miss Elsa Edgcome Spencer, B.A. (London), to be Inspectress of Schools in the United Provinces.

Mr. Wilfrid Saunders, B.Sc. (London), to be Professor of Chemistry in the Civil Engineering College, Sibpur, Bengal.

INDIAN PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

The Secretary of State for India in Council has, subject to the usual conditions, appointed the under-mentioned gentlemen to be Assistant Engineers in the Indian Public Works and State Railway Departments: G. F. Balfour, Datt Dev, N. N. Farrell, F. H. Hogshaw, H. G. Jackson, Muhammad Khan Mian, J. L. Roy, L. St. Clare Rundlett, J. Woodside.

The Secretary of State for India has received the following from the Viceroy, August 17, 1915 :

“ The week's rainfall was in excess in Bengal and Bihar ; normal in Assam and the south-east part of Madras ; fair in Upper Burma, the United Provinces, and Kashmir ; and scanty elsewhere. The monsoon is likely to strengthen during next week.

August 24, 1915.—“ The week's rainfall was in excess in Bay Islands, the east part of the United Provinces, the south-west part of the Punjab, Kashmir, the east part of Central India, Berar, the west part of the Central Provinces, and the north part of the Madras Coast ; it was normal in Assam, Bengal, Chota Nagpur, Bihar, the east part of the Central Provinces, Konkan, Mysore, and the south-east part of Madras ; fair in Burma, Orissa, the west part of the United Provinces, the east and north parts of the Punjab, the west part of Central India, Hyderabad, and Malabar ; and scanty elsewhere. The improvement is likely to be maintained, and may extend to North-West India.”

August 31, 1915.—“ The week's rainfall was in excess in Lower Burma, Assam, Bengal, United Provinces, Central India east, Central Provinces proper, Konkan, Hyderabad, and Madras Coast north ; normal in Orissa, Bihar, and Madras Deccan ; fair in Bay Islands, Upper Burma. Chota Nagpur, Punjab East and North, Kashmir, Berar, Bombay Deccan, Mysore, and Malabar ; and scanty elsewhere. During next week the monsoon is likely to be directed to the Gangetic Plain, and it is unlikely that the drought in the north-west of India will come to an end at present.”

September 7, 1915.—“ The week's rainfall was in excess in Orissa, Bihar, United Provinces east, Central India east, and Madras Coast north ; normal in Bay Islands, Assam, Konkan, and Mysore ; fair in Lower Burma, Bengal, United Provinces west, Central Provinces east, Bombay Deccan, Malabar, and Madras south-east ; and scanty elsewhere. The monsoon is likely to strengthen in central parts of the country, and may penetrate into the North-West of India.”

September 21, 1915.—"The week's rainfall was in excess in the United Provinces east, Punjab east and north, Central India west, Central Provinces east, Malabar, and Madras south-east ; normal in Upper Burma, Assam, Chota Nagpur, Kashmir, Central India east, Central Provinces west, Mysore, and the Bombay Deccan ; fair in the Bay Islands, Lower Burma, Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, United Provinces west, Rajputana east, the Madras Deccan, and Madras Coast north ; and scanty elsewhere. Further rain is likely to the north-west of India."

September 28, 1915.—"The week's rainfall was in excess in Bay Islands, Upper Burma, Bengal, Chota Nagpur, United Provinces, Punjab east and north, North-West Frontier Province, Rajputana east, Gujarat, Central Provinces west, Bombay Deccan, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Madras, excluding east coast north ; normal in Orissa, Central India west, Berar, and Konkan ; fair in Lower Burma, Assam, Rajputana west, Central Provinces east, and Madras coast north ; and scanty elsewhere. Further local rain is likely to the north-west of India."

LONDON THEATRES

St. James's Theatre—"The Big Drum," a Comedy in Four Acts, by Arthur Pinero.

We are getting accustomed to Pinero successes, we did not, however quite expect such an unqualified success as "The Big Drum." Philip Mackworth is a struggling novelist with the fascination and elegance of Sir George Alexander, who, however, with all the advantages the personality of the famous actor could give him, failed to reach the great buying public with his pen, and was, to be candid, a bad seller. To be again candid, he was not the sort of man who could beat a big drum, least of all for himself. The catastrophe caused by somebody else providing the drumsticks is the subject of the plot.

The charming Ottoline, *née* Filson, at one time the unhappy wife of a French Count, and profoundly to be pitied, relights a fire of her girlhood with the novelist at the house of a friend. But if they sentimentalized about earlier days, of intimate friendship in Paris, there was no reason why now they should not make up for lost time and drift on a second tide to the greatest bliss.

He was, however, still, after all these years, a novelist who had not yet "arrived," and with an insufficiency of income. Moreover, her parents had not learned their lesson from her first marriage, and were anxious to sell her to a high bidder once more. It can therefore be imagined that when he, or rather she, came to press his suit, her parvenu parents accorded him a parvenu reception. After numerous humiliations, he strikes the bargain that he can have Sir Randle Filson's daughter if the novel which he is about to publish proves to be a real success.

But the charming Ottoline, trusting, it is true, most implicitly in her lover's genius, yet wanted to make a sure thing doubly sure, and buys a prodigious number of copies, which she surreptitiously ensconces in the fastnesses of a disused office.

This action did not escape the vigilance of her snobbish brother. He secures the professional aid of a private detective (excellently rendered by E. Vivian Reynolds), and ushers him into the presence of the triumphant, almost swollen-headed author, who in the estimate of himself and his

friends had now indeed arrived. The moment was particularly unfortunate for the disclosure of the detective's sensational evidence, as Philip Mackworth had that evening arranged to receive his charming bride, his future parents-in-law, and others to dinner. The unsuspecting *dernier cri*, still convinced of his undoubted genius, roundly tells the brother that he is a young pup (a title which the latter treats with well-deserved contempt), but when the true facts come to light falls heavily from his pedestal. He cannot forgive Ottoline her devotion the same evening, but the next morning they bury the hatchet,

It matters little that in the first version of the play they do not come together again. He had learned his lesson, and if in the past his efforts at literary success had made him ridiculous to others, the glorious hours of success undeserved made him ridiculous to himself. But if his literary excellence was moonshine, the devotion of his lady-love was the golden light of day. The only difference of the two versions is that in the second edition he recognized this great truth much earlier.

Mr. Nigel Playfair as the snobbish son was particularly amusing. Sir George Alexander gained the sympathies, not only of the charming Ottoline, but also of the whole house. Mr. Allan Aynesworth as the bumptious Sir Randle was infinitely pleasing, while the part of his daughter was excellently rendered by Miss Irene Vanbrugh.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

("ASIATIC REVIEW" CALENDAR)

Tuesday, October 5. *The Eastern League.* Indian Room, Messrs. Whiteley's, Westbourne Grove, W. Anniversary Meeting. 2.30 p.m.

Tuesday, October 5. *Anglo-Russian Literary Society.* Aline Birkhead on "Popular Russia." Imperial Institute, South Kensington. 3 p.m.

Friday, October 8. *Women's Indian Study Association.* Dr. Bartholomew on "Medical Work among Women in India"; Miss E. Gedge on "Women's University Settlement at Bombay." 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington. 11.30 a.m. In connection with the Annual Conference of the National Union of Women Workers. Admission by Conference ticket (3s. 6d.) or 1s. ticket, to be obtained beforehand from Miss Monica Robins, Hon. Sec., The Hall, Southborough, Kent.

Tuesday, October 19. *Oriental Circle.* Lyceum Club, 128, Piccadilly F. Eden Pargiter, Esq., on "The Ramayana." Tea 4 p.m.; lecture 4.30 p.m.

Wednesday, October 20. *Central Asian Society,* 22, Albemarle Street, W. Mr. H. Charles Woods on "The Dardanelles Campaign." 4.30 p.m.

Tuesday, November 2. *Anglo-Russian Literary Society.* Lecture by Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., on "The Russian Soldier." Imperial Institute, South Kensington. 3 p.m.

For Special Courses of Lectures on Recent History, with special bearing on the War. School of Economics (University of London), Clare Market, Kingsway, W.C. See page 303.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

NOVEMBER 15, 1915

GREAT BRITAIN, TURKEY, AND GERMANY

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

LORD MACAULAY, describing the wanton aggression of Frederick the Great upon the Empress Maria Theresa's province of Silesia, says: "The evils produced by his wickedness were felt in lands where the name of Prussia was unknown; and in order that he might rob a neighbour whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America."

This passage might at the present day be made to apply with equal force to the worthy descendant of Frederick the Great, who for his own pleasure and profit has plunged the world into a war which extends its ravages from the waters of the Baltic and the Atlantic to the shores of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf and has spread even to the coast of China and the interior of Africa.

By lavishing bribes and promising benefits which can never be realized he has chained Turkey and Bulgaria to his chariot-wheels and made them cat's-paws to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for Germany's behoof.

The first contact of the Turk with the German was a hostile one, and for three centuries the two nations were in deadly and almost continual conflict. In the rapid and victorious westward march of the Turkish armies, the first serious check came from the stubborn valour of the Teutonic race, whom the Turks called the Namsawi, from

Niemce, the name given to the Germans by their Slavonic neighbours. The Turks habitually designated the nations of Europe, the subjects of the "seven infidel Kings of the Farang," by some nickname, usually an opprobrious one; thus the Frenchman was called the Fransawi Ainaji (the deceitful Frenchman); Rús-i-mankiús signified the mischievous Russian; the Englishman was the Banátji, the cloth merchant who brought to the ports of the *Ægean* "the blue cloth of Salonika" for the uniforms of the Janissaries; the Dutchman was the cheesemonger; the Venetian was the fisherman; the German was the Ghurúr Káfir, or stubborn infidel. The Turkish chronicler, Evliya Effendi, in his description of Transylvania, writes: "The country is inhabited by Siklev (Slavs) and Saxons; the former are well affected to the Imperial ('Ottoman' Government, but the latter are most obstinate infidels." The Turks long refused to acknowledge the title of the Emperor of Germany, claiming that the Imperial dignity was the appanage of the throne of the Cæsars at Constantinople, and Sultan Suliman the Magnificent drove the envoy of Ferdinand of Austria from his presence because he alluded to Charles V. as the Emperor. From the beginning of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries, a succession of long and bloody wars were waged between the German and the Ottoman Empires.

The Turks twice laid siege to Vienna; but the tide turned, and the Germans thrice made themselves masters of Belgrade. A German army once reached Nish; and the Duke of Lorraine was preparing to march on Constantinople, when the news of the declaration of war with France recalled him and the best part of his army from the Danube to the Rhine.

France was the great ally of the Ottoman Empire in Europe as Germany was its great enemy. The Turks accounted for the friendship of France by a romantic tale that a French princess had arrived at the Dardanelles during the siege of Constantinople by Sultan Muhammad

the Conqueror to be married to the Christian Emperor, and being captured by the Turks became instead the bride of the conquering Sultan. But the real reason that the French courted the alliance of the Turks was their mutual hostility to the German Empire. Khair ud Din Barbarossa landed Turkish soldiers from his Algerine galleys to assist the forces of the Most Christian King in the siege of Nice. Whenever war broke out between the houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg, the French Ambassador at Constantinople was lavish of bribes and promises at the Porte to induce the Turks to move against the Austrian dominions. England of course took the side opposed to France ; and when in 1690 the Grand Vazir Mustafa Kuprili was preparing to march against the Germans, English envoys sent by King William III. appeared in his camp trying to dissuade him from his enterprise. But when Russia became in her turn the objective of French intrigues in Turkey the concern of England for her lucrative Levant trade induced British statesmen to listen to the overtures of the Cabinet of Versailles and to join in the policy of supporting the decaying Ottoman Power against a new and more dangerous foe.

The foreign policy of France in the eighteenth century was influenced by the Vatican, and the support of Catholic Poland against the growing power of Orthodox Russia was one of its primary objects ; and in 1769 the Duc de Choiseul succeeded in persuading the Porte to declare war on Russia, and sent Baron de Tott and other clever French officers to direct the operations of the Turkish armies ; but the war ended disastrously for his dupes. In the same way Napoleon treated Turkey as a pawn on the chess-board of European politics, at one time encouraging the Turks to resist Russia, at another time sacrificing their interests to gain the friendship of the Czar. But for a century the traditional policy of Choiseul and Pitt continued generally to be followed by the Foreign Offices of Great Britain and France, and the Western Powers strove to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire in the face of the many

disintegrating elements which threatened its stability from within and without. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe during his long tenure of office at our Embassy in Constantinople virtually directed the foreign policy of the Porte ; and Lord Beaconsfield carried our interference to its extreme limit, practically assuming a British Protectorate over Turkey, and forcing Russia by the threat of war to submit the provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano to be reviewed and revised by a Congress of the diplomatists of all the Great European Powers at Berlin. The results of this revision have proved to be most unfortunate. Macedonia was thrust back under Turkish rule and has been the plague-spot of Europe ever since ; the Slav Provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were handed over to the rule of Austrian Germans ; the protection of the Armenians in Turkey was removed from the sole control of Russia to that of the Concert of the Great Powers, and it turned out, as might naturally have been expected, that what is everybody's business is nobody's business.

It had been Lord Beaconsfield's aim to establish British influence in the Ottoman Empire, and by degrees to reform the administration and collect the revenues, and to make of Turkey what Egypt has become under the auspices of Lord Cromer ; and to this end he had selected and appointed English officials in Asia Minor and Armenia under the guise of Consuls, of whom our present War Minister was one. But a General Election in Britain presently removed him from office, and Mr. Gladstone who succeeded him reversed his policy, recalled the British officials from Turkey, and washed his hands of the whole business altogether. But another Power was ready to step into the place of friend and adviser vacated by England. Germany had never hitherto troubled herself about the Eastern Question ; Austria had never lifted a finger to help Greeks or Slavs against their Turkish oppressors. Bismarck had openly declared that the Eastern Question was not worth the life of a single Pomeranian grenadier. Possibly he may have

picked Lord Beaconsfield's brains at the Berlin Conference ; anyhow, the moment that Gladstone abandoned the rôle of mentor to the Turk, Germany stepped into the place vacated by Great Britain in the counsels of the Porte. German officers re-organized the Turkish Army, German engineers planned the Baghdad Railway, and German commercial agents exploited the resources of Asia Minor. After Bismarck's retirement the old long-standing friendship between Prussia and Russia was broken, and it soon became obvious that Kaiser Wilhelm counted on the support of the Turkish Army in the event of a European war. And his plan, so long nursed and so carefully engineered, has now successfully developed. German audacity and energy have been too much for the scruples and the *vis inertiae* of the reluctant Turk, and when he still remonstrated and procrastinated, German warships issued from the Bosphorus to bombard Russian sea-ports and literally forced the Porte into the war.

The Turks have a proverbial saying : " Hikmat min al Farang, Doulat min al Hind, va Shavkat min al Othmaniya " — " Wisdom is from the Franks, wealth from India, and pomp from the Osmanlis." The ancient pomp and splendour of the court and camp of the Sultan has long since been only a memory, but the wisdom of the Franks still survives and flourishes at the expense of the dull wits of the Turk, whose stolid Tartar stupidity makes him the butt of the jests of the peoples who have been subjugated by his valour. The quick-witted Persians relate that the ass said to God : " Lord, why hast Thou created me, seeing that Thou hast already created the Turk ?" And God answered and said : " Verily We have created the Turk in order that the excellence of thy understanding might become apparent."

By the bait of ready-money, a temptation which the Turk can never resist, by working on his fears of Russian aggression, and by holding out the hope of recovering his authority in Egypt, the clever German has made a ready tool of the stupid Osmanli.

But the German makes miscalculations himself; he calculated on the neutrality of Great Britain, and he apparently also calculated upon a general rising of the Musalman nations in response to the Sultan's proclamation of a Holy War. His expectations of risings in Egypt and in India would seem to show that in spite of his elaborate spy system he is very ill-informed of the real condition of foreign countries. The days of the Crusades are over, in the East as well as in the West, and the Turks themselves do not regard the present conflict as a Holy War, and, indeed, how could they, when their army is commanded, and their warlike operations directed, by Giaurs?

Great Britain has hitherto waged but one war against Turkey, and that was more than a hundred years ago, when the Porte was acting-as jackal to Napoleon, as it is to-day to Wilhelm II. Our operations on that occasion were not successful; Sir John Duckworth's fleet passed through the Dardanelles by a lucky chance, and appeared before Constantinople; but Marshal Sebastiani, a clever soldier-diplomatist, instructed the Turks to hoodwink the simple admiral with promises of submission while he collected troops and organized defences; and when the mask was thrown off the British fleet was only too glad to effect its escape *re infectâ*.

General Fraser's expedition to Egypt was equally unsuccessful; he landed at Alexandria and occupied the town with an army of 5,000 men, but the Mamelukes failed to give him the promised support, and the Turks under the command of the able and energetic Mehemed Ali proved much stronger than was expected, and after some severe fighting our weak force was so depleted that General Fraser was fain to enter into a convention with the Pasha for the evacuation of the country. The war was put an end to by the desertion of the Turkish cause by Napoleon in the Treaty of Tilsit.

France also has been but once at open war with Turkey when Napoleon Bonaparte treacherously seized upon Egypt

without declaration of war ; and the Turks were obliged to have recourse to British aid to expel the invader from the country. In 1830 a French army was landed in the Morea, and reduced the last Turkish fortresses which were still holding out there against the insurgent Greeks ; and in 1860 a French military force was landed in the Lebanon to punish the authors of the massacres of Christians which had taken place there, and to pacify the country ; but on neither occasion was there an open rupture with the Porte.

The German plot has been so far successful that it has diverted a considerable force of the Allied troops from the fields of war in Europe, but its results have been unfortunate for the Turks, who, instead of carrying the war as they expected into their enemies' country, have much ado to defend their own. Their invasion of the Russian province of Transcaucasia has been rolled back and the Russians are, in their turn, invading Turkish territory, and have occupied the shores of the lake of Van and the headwaters of the Euphrates.

A British expedition from India has overrun Irak-Arabi and mastered the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates. That land, the fabled site of the Garden of Eden, the cradle of an early civilization, and the granary of the ancient world, might, under a just and stable government, once more become populous and prosperous, and might prove a second Egypt under British rule.

The feeble attempt of the Turks to invade Egypt was easily frustrated by our garrison in that country ; and a combined Anglo-French Expeditionary Force was landed on the peninsula of Gallipoli to force the passage of the straits of the Dardanelles, in conjunction with the Allied Fleets. But this operation has so far proved unsuccessful. The Turks, warned of their danger by a premature naval attempt to force the passage, had entrenched themselves in strong natural positions in the peninsula. A landing of the Allied Troops was effected at the extreme southern end in the face of such determined opposition, and such a mur-

derous fire, that its success appears almost miraculous. But there the success ended. The Turkish positions which confronted us were strong by nature and made stronger by art. The Turk is not a formidable enemy in the open field, but behind entrenchments he is invincible, as the Russians found to their cost at Plevna ; and his German leaders inspire him with a confidence which he never feels in his own officers. Our army has now been six months in the peninsula, has had a hundred thousand men put *hors de combat*, and is no nearer forcing the passage of the Dardanelles than when it first landed. The positions of the Turks are impregnable ; there is no room to turn them ; nor can their communications with Constantinople be cut, as they have the sea of Marmora open to them, so we cannot starve them out as the Russians did at Plevna. It is easy to be wise after the event, and it certainly seems as if it would have been more correct strategy to land our army at Enos or elsewhere on the coast of Thrace, block the isthmus of Bulair, and threaten an attack on the Gallipoli defences from the land side or an advance on Constantinople, and the seizure of the railway line which connects that capital with central Europe.

The bold and hazardous attempt of Germany to open up communications with Turkey, by way of Serbia and Bulgaria, might thus have been forestalled.

One most lamentable result of the entrance of Turkey into the war has been the appalling massacres of the Christian Armenian population by the Turks in Asia Minor, so vividly narrated by A. S. Safrastian in the previous number of this *Review*. The blood-guiltiness of this crime against Christianity and Humanity must be shared by Kaiser Wilhelm II. and the whole German nation which supports and endorses his warlike policy, with their Musalman allies and tools. This is the work of the Young Turks, the Committee of Union and Progress (?) which announced that its aims were to introduce into the Ottoman Empire a system of civilized government, and to unite all

the various creeds and races that own its sway in a fraternity of mutual interests. The Young Turk seems to be worse by several degrees than the old one ; and the stupidity common to his race probably prevents him from realizing the fact that in exterminating the most industrious and most thrifty community in his dominions he is helping to consummate his own ruin. The little wealth that the Ottoman Empire enjoys is derived mainly from the commerce and the industry of its Christian population, and any serious diminution of their numbers means a corresponding decrease in its revenues. The Armenian Community prospers and flourishes under the government of Russia, and even under that of Persia, and it is to be devoutly hoped that one result of the present war may be the liberation of the whole of the province of Turkish Armenia from the misgovernment of its present masters.

Like Poland in Europe, the Kingdom of Armenia, one of the most ancient in history, is now partitioned between the three Empires of Russia, Turkey, and Persia.

Its reunion under the sceptre of the Russian Czar would be a beneficent measure, putting a final end to a political martyrdom, which, like that of the Jewish nation, has now endured for many centuries.

It seemed incredible that the Bulgarian nation should choose sides against its patrons and benefactors, the Russians, who liberated it from the yoke of the Ottoman tyranny forty years ago ; but the Bulgarian is racially akin to the Turk, and like the Turk blindly follows the lead given him by his Government. Much of the rivalry between the Serbian and Bulgarian nationalities is due to the fact that the latter are not really Slavs but are of Mongolian and Tartar descent. Al Masu'di and other Arab geographers of early times place the land of Bulghar to the north of the Caspian Sea, whence the hardy Nomads descended upon the fertile northern provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire. Adopting the orthodox Christian religion and the Slavonic tongue of the people whom they conquered or dis-

possessed they themselves were adopted into the Slav community and are at the present day generally reckoned among the Slav peoples.

But the inherited characteristics of his Mongolian ancestors are still after the lapse of ten centuries strongly marked in the Bulgarian of to-day, and the old saying "Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar," might with much more truth be applied to the Bulgarian.

At the outbreak of this war, originating as it did in the conflict of the national ideals of the Slavonic and Teutonic races, it was believed and expected that the Slav nationalities of Austria-Hungary would have thrown in their lot with their Serbian brethren, and have risen in revolt against their German and Magyar masters. Before the war they had given many signs of their dissatisfaction with foreign rule, but when the opportunity for action arrived they remained passive spectators of the efforts made by their Serb and Montenegrin brethren to free them from the Austro-Hungarian yoke. Probably the reason for their impotence is that all their active male population of military age was already drafted into the Imperial Army and on the way to fight the Russians on the confines of Poland or to reinforce the Germans in the fields of France and Flanders. All these south Slav lands were long debated between the Austrians, the Venetians, and the Turks : and not until the Republic of St. Mark had been finally extinguished by Napoleon did they come under the sole dominion of Austria. The traces of old Italian occupation still remain, and the population of Trieste and the other towns of the Istrian and Dalmatian littoral is mainly Italian ; hence the Italians hope and expect to regain possession of the old dominions of the Republic of Venice as a result of the present war. But the mass of their population is Slavonic, and in this era of the nationalities is no more likely to be contented with an Italian sovereignty than with a German one. Here is material for future trouble and fresh fuel for the flames of war.

Indian troops were first brought into Europe by Lord Beaconsfield in 1878, when they made their appearance in Malta and Cyprus ; but on that occasion their services were not required in the field. To-day they are fighting side by side with their British comrades in three continents ; in the fields of France and Flanders, in the Balkan Peninsula, on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and on the Great Lakes of Central Africa. Grave doubts were expressed as to the capacity of soldiers of Indian races to hold their own against European troops, and as to the policy of employing our Musalman Sipahis against their Turkish co-religionists. These fears have not been justified by events. The Sikh and Gurkha have faced and have fought the Germans as gallantly and as successfully as their British comrades ; and the Pathans and Beluchis have routed the Turks wherever they have met them. All the artful attempts and devices of the enemy to seduce our native Indian soldiers from their allegiance have failed before the proverbial fidelity of the sepoy to his salt ; and the experience that he has gained of foreign lands and strange nations will serve to enlarge his ideas and dispel his prejudices. An officer serving with Indian troops in Egypt writes : " I am of opinion that the more Indian troops are used in this European war the better. I am firmly convinced that German intrigues to raise disaffection in India are much wider spread than was supposed. I base my convictions partly on the coincidence of Har Dyal, the head seditionist, and German and Turkish officers being together in Genoa on the outbreak of war, and also on incidents connected with the Komagata Maru voyage. Of course Indian troops are difficult to supply, but that obstacle has been successfully overcome in France. From the political point of view, I find that they all come back with their minds broadened, even more so than by the Delhi Durbar, which worked wonders. And the more pensioners there are about the Punjab and other recruiting areas (and there are bound to be many such men permanently disabled in

this war), the more steady men there will be to show the youth of the country which path it is safe to keep to, in the stage of transition through which India is passing now."

Considering the size of her army India is taking a large share in the war ; and it would probably not be difficult for her Government, in view of the large population, to raise a million of fighting men from the warlike races which inhabit the Empire or dwell upon its borders like the Pathans of the North-West Frontier and the Gurkhas of Nepal.

In one of its phases, this war is the last expiring effort of the old monarchical and aristocratical feudal system of Europe to stem the rising tide of modern Democracy. One of its results may well be the dissolution of the two moribund empires of Austria-Hungary and Turkey, and their resolution into their component nationalities. In that case the incorporation of Irak, the ancient Mesopotamia, in our Indian Empire, might be a possible result ; and that country, depopulated as it is by five centuries of Turkish misrule, might fitly absorb the surplus population of that Empire, which now seeks channels of emigration in colonies where the climate and the conditions of life are not so congenial to Indian settlers. Syria and Palestine also might be once more re-united under the sceptre of the Egyptian Sultan, as was the case for some centuries, under the successors of Saladin, and the Mameluke Sultans. It is at all events certain that the present War, or rather the Peace which concludes it, will entail a considerable re-grouping of political forces and re-settlement of geographical limits both in Europe and in Asia.

PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT OF IDEAS
FROM ORIGINAL MENTAL INSTINCTS IN
DIFFERENT RELIGIONS, WITHOUT
HISTORICAL CONNECTION

BY PROFESSOR MILLS

HAVING seen that the same ideas beyond all question existed in Jewish Christianity and in the Avesta at an early date, as well as in the Veda, we have long since asked : "How did this happen ?" To which a natural answer was made at once : "That a mutual exchange of ideas took place between the three peoples, the Persians and the Jews having been parts of the same Empire for two centuries, more or less, and the Vedic Indians, on their side, having been once actually Iranians."* The Persians, as the masters, overwhelmed the Jewish nation politically, and we see from the Jewish records that the mutual religious influence of the two peoples one upon the other must have been very considerable indeed, if not fundamentally vital. Cyrus acknowledges Yahveh as the "God of Heaven"—if he did not mean his own Ahura†—and the texts avow that he was supernaturally inspired by Yahveh Elohim to assist the Return of the Captives, an event of supreme importance to the history of religion and of the world. He said to the city, "Thou shalt be built," and to the Temple, "Thy

* Airanians.

† Giving Him the later forbidden name of *Deva*, which referred to the "shining sky."

foundations shall be laid." But there was something more.

It is not probable that these two most memorable religions should have harmonized so fully as they did, without some common source of their mutual ideas. *That source lay in the original instincts of the human being.*

Man was created with the germs of these ideas within him, and they have, in due course, come out through this *Parallel Development* which was inexorable in the forces behind it and within it. The ideas could not have been kept back. No one doubts that this is both probable and interesting to the last degree: but who has ever emphasized that it is *sacred*! Yet what could be more so? There seems to be hereditary constitutional fears and hopes which have budded and sprouted in all directions until they have influenced our characters to our supposed salvation. Even granted that they often do not correspond exactly with the literal facts, nor with each other, they have yet often been the very voice of God, as of Nature, within us, and no human tribes have been utterly bereft of them. To that same degree in which they have become susceptible of them, so that they can receive them—to that same degree has every child of man received them in nations utterly unknown to each other, and from these, through this *Parallel Development* the fuller instincts come to be actual convictions. It should be called by a fonder name. Precious influences are here at work. Take the very central passion of our early religious experience—"truth." How we almost worshipped it, as well we might. What would we not have given, including life itself, to make all men *just*! Our dreams of felicity were such a Frashakard, "the making things complete." But lo, while we wrestled in devotional prayer for that Holy Day to dawn, kindred souls in a far distant spot were struggling just the same to realize the Zoroastrian Asha—souls who yet had never heard of Christ, or other prophets. Love followed with Justice, and we literally adored it; but lo, the same good passions led

martyrs on to work at the other end of earth for this ; their Vohu Manah and their names have been utterly unknown to us. We glorified the Holy Moment when God should *rule* in earth and heaven ; but lo, there were saints far off—by us unheard of—who outdid our chants for Khshathra.

And how we longed for faithful work, work, work—the first grace of every serious person—our Ideal. But lo, in all God's holy world some creatures here and there were doing more than we, inspired by Aramaiti ; and then, for health in ourselves and others, with *success*,—how we desired them, and what magnificent pictures we would draw of the victory over disease, as over villainy. But lo, true saints unknown to us have passionately done the same from ages immemorial, recalling Haurvatāt, striving to lengthen out good human life, with hopes of Heaven—Ameretatāt, for these were the pleroma of the Zoroastrians. The blank dead horror of men bereft of all hope of Truth, Love, Rule, Toil, Success, and Heaven no longer meets us, and this gives us hope for every child of God. Wherever men have breathed the breath of earth, they have had the seeds of these things in them.

And Christians have this hope pressed upon them first of all from these analogies between Avesta and the Bible. If the same thoughts appear there in those majestic two, *sometimes* without any borrowing at all from one to the other, then the same thoughts *must be common to all mankind* above a certain grade.

Some there are—and we ourselves were once among them—who feared the effect of this widening out of sympathies, and asked : “ Why recognize and bring up this glorious truth ? ” Young disciples might feel a scattering of close principles in this ; yet some others, on the contrary, are *distinctly helped* by it. To divert the attention of the young at the early crisis of their religious feeling, focussing it too much upon any one idea, however good, would indeed be a mistake—the “ one thing needful ” is supreme. *But*

this may be a part of it, this widening out of ideas. There are God's chosen everywhere, and to shut the heart to these most touching facts would be a heavy price to pay even for a selfish salvation. These instincts, inborn in every human creature, may not, as said, reappear in those others in the same form in which we personally have received them ; but they are there in all men, awaiting the *Parallel Development*. "God left not Himself without witness."

Is it not emphatically a crime to shut our mind's eye to this great creative act or fact of universal grace—a sort of sin against the Holy Ghost—if there is anything of that kind anywhere ?

The same essential instincts—so let me sum the matter up—which have saved us from barbarism through our Jewish-Christian and Zarathushtrian faith, have saved millions who never heard of Jew or Christ or the Prophet, Iranian or Arab. No Jordan stream here divides the Jew from Gentile, nor do the hills of Iran (Airan) shut out the Christian or Arabian.

SOME ACCOUNT OF SILHADĪ,
OTHERWISE ṢALĀHU-D-DĪN (SALADIN), A
RĀJPŪT RENEGADE, AND OF THE HISTORY
OF GUJARAT ENTITLED THE "MIRĀT
SIKANDARĪ"

BY H. BEVERIDGE

IN Tod's "Rajasthan" (vol. i., p. 257 of the Madras reprint) there is a reference to the alleged treachery of a Rājput chief named Silhadī at the battle of Kānwa in 1527, in which Rānā Sāngā of Chitor was defeated by the Indian emperor Bābur. The passage is as follows :

"The chief of Rayseen (Raisen of the *Gazetteer of India*, xxi. 62), by name Silhadī, was the means of communication, and though the arrangement was negatived, treason had effected the salvation of Bābur.

* * * * *

"When the battle was still doubtful, the Tūār traitor who led the van (*Harāwal*) went over to Bābur, and Sāngā was obliged to retreat from the field, which in the onset promised a glorious victory."

This is a grave charge, for Silhadī was a Rājput chief of the highest class, and the son-in-law of Rānā Sāngā. Nor was this the only connection between the two chiefs, for Silhadī's son, Bhūpat, had married Rānā Sāngā's granddaughter. We do not know when the second alliance took place, but if it occurred, as seems likely, after the battle of Kānwa, it enhances the improbability of the story of

treachery. It would be strange if a man of such high caste as Silhadī, and so closely connected with the Chitor family, was a traitor to that house and to all his countrymen. Is the charge justifiable? In my opinion it is not, and my belief is that Colonel Tod has been led away by a desire to explain the Rājput defeat, which, in his eyes, was otherwise inexplicable. In reality, it is explicable enough. Bābur was a universal genius, and his troops were hardy northmen who had been trained in campaigns against the Uzbeks and the Afghans, and who were inflamed with the spirit of Ghāzis. Above all, Bābur had artillery, and Sāngā had not. Bābur has justly been termed the Eastern Cæsar, and the Rājputs had even less chance against him and his well-equipped holy warriors than the Helvetians had against Julius Cæsar.

Colonel Tod has no evidence of Silhadī's treachery. It is merely rumour and tradition, and for all that we know it may be quite modern tradition, hundreds of years after the event, for Rājput chronicles and ballads have little regard to time, and are even a year out about the date of the Kānwa battle. Explanations of defeats when given by the vanquished are of little value anywhere, but they are especially untrustworthy in India, where, perhaps, no battle has ever been fought without the victory's being ascribed to treachery. It was thus that Aurangzeb's victory over his brother Dārā was explained, as if it were not the natural consequence of the skill and bravery of Aurangzeb and Murad Bakhsh, and of the incapacity and vacillation of Dārā, who twice ran away before his battles were lost. Nor does Colonel Tod's explanation save the credit of Rānā Sāngā as a commander-in-chief, for if Silhadī was at heart a traitor, his father-in-law must have had some inkling of the fact, and yet, according to Tod, he gave him the most important position in the battle-line. Bābur does not say that Silhadī commanded the van, but he implies that his contingent was the largest on the field, for he states that his territory could furnish 30,000 horse.

Bābur says nothing about the alleged treachery, but I would not lay any stress upon this, for, naturally, he ascribes the victory to Allah and the bravery of his troops. But surely, if there had been any truth in the story, Sikandar, the author of the "*Mirāt Sikandari*," who was a Gujarati, and so almost a neighbour of the Udaipur and Chitor family, and who was an Indian in his sympathies, would have mentioned it. He is a somewhat late writer, but he was a collector of traditions and rumours, and he had access to the "*Tārīkh Bahāduri*," which was written in the lifetime of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat, who was Bābur's contemporary. Sikandar does not describe the battle of Kānwa, for his history deals with Gujarat, and there were few or no Gujaratis engaged in it. But he frequently mentions Silhadī, and he would, I think, have referred to Silhadī's fatal treason if it had occurred. Nor is it mentioned by Nizāmu-d-din Ahmad in his history, or by Abul Fazl. It is true that Sikandar calls Silhadī disloyal and ungrateful (*nimakhārām*), but this does not refer to any conduct of his towards his Rājput brethren, but to his alleged duplicity and ingratitude towards Bahādur Shāh. Nor does Ferishta say anything about Silhadī's treachery in his account of the battle of Kānwa. He is an impartial writer, except for his Deccani sympathies, and is not an out-and-out panegyrist of Bābur. On the contrary, he hints at his ruses and his failings. But the strongest argument, perhaps, against the story of Silhadī's treachery is that he remained all his life on friendly terms with the Chitor House.

Hence it seems impossible that he was the author of their most famous ancestor's ruin. We have evidence of friendship between Silhadī and Rānā Ratansī, the son and successor of Sāngā, in the fact that they went together to pay their respects to Bahādur Shāh in 937 A.H., 1530-31 (Bombay Lithograph 220, and Fazl Ullah's translation, p. 165). We also find (pp. 228 and 173) Rānā Ratansī interceding with Bahādur for Silhadī when the latter was imprisoned

at Māndū, and being harshly treated there. On this occasion the Rānā sent his younger brother, Bikramājīt, to Bahādur in order to request that Silhadī should be more kindly dealt with. And shortly before his death Silhadī was relying upon his son's coming with the Rānā in order to raise the siege of Raisen, and this is what they tried to do.

It is a curious circumstance that though Bābur classes Silhadī among the ten Pagan chiefs who opposed him at Kanwā, he, or at least his secretary, Shaikh Zain, gives him his Muhammadan name of Salāhu-d-dīn. Bābur also calls him Salāhu-d-dīn when he writes of visiting his birthplace near Gwalior (Leyden and Erskine's translation of the "Memoirs," p. 386). There is here a grave discrepancy between the "Memoirs" on the one side and the "*Ṭabaqāt Akbarī*" and the *Mirāt Sikandari*" on the other. Their account is that Silhadī only became a Muhammadan under compulsion, and in 938 A.H., 1532, that is about two years after Bābur's death. Both their works are considerably later than the "Memoirs," but the authors are trustworthy and they had before them the "*Tārīkh Bahādurshāhī*," which was written in Bahādur Shāh's lifetime and consequently before February, 1537, for that was the date of Bahādur's murder by the Portuguese. I can only explain the occurrence of the Muhammadan name Ṣalāhu-d-din in Bābur's bulletin of victory, etc., by supposing that we have not the "Memoirs" in their original state, but that they have been tampered with by Humāyūn or Jahāngīr, or by a copyist.

Our information about Silhadī is partly derived from the "*Ṭabaqāt Akbarī*" a general history of India written about the end of the 16th century by Nizāmu-d-din Ahmed, one of Akbar's best officers, and from *Ferishta*, but the main authority is the "*Mirāt Sikandari*," or Alexander's Mirror, a work by a Gujarātī writer, which was completed under the reign of Jahāngār. As it is a valuable history, and one which has not been adequately translated, it is convenient that I should say something about it in this place.

THE "MIRĀT SIKANDARĪ"

It was written by Sikandar, or Iskandar, who was the son of one Muhammad, otherwise Manjhū, who had been the Emperor Humāyūn's librarian. Though the title of the book has an allusion to Alexander the Great and his cup or mirror, the primary reference is to the author's own name. The term "Mirror" is used to express Sikandar's resolution to give a true and impartial account of the Muhammadan princes of Gujarat. In the preface a couplet is quoted which says "No human being is altogether void of goodness and badness. A rose-bush is half thorn, and half flower." Of course, as an orthodox Musalman, Sikandar adds the proviso that such a remark does not apply to prophets and saints. Their innocence is guarded by God, but ordinary men are, like Rob Roy, "ower guid for banning, and ower bad for blessing." His own work he calls a "Mirror" because it impartially shows both virtues and vices. His predecessors, the authors of the histories of the Sultan Moẓaffar and Bahādur Shāh, could not be impartial, for they wrote during the lifetime of these kings. He has an advantage in this respect, for he writes after the extinction of the Gujaratī kingdom, and when he was in the service of the Emperor of India (Jahāngīr). But he was also not without local knowledge, for he was by birth a Gujaratī, having been born in 1554 at Mahmūdābād, not many miles from Ahmadabad, the capital of the country, and both he and his father had been the servants and disciples of a famous family of Bokhara saints who had been settled for generations in Gujarat, where they had extensive estates. Sikandar finished his history in 1611 when he was about 58 years of age, but he had been engaged on it for several years. In his preface he speaks of a sudden calamity which befel him, and which compelled him to stop his work. "It was a whirlwind which blew his pen out of his hand as if it were an arrow discharged from the thumb-ring and made a

children's kite of his papers." Probably, this had something to do with the fates of the Bokhara Saiyids to whom his father had acted as steward. Their first patron was Saiyid Mubārak, who was murdered during the Gujarat troubles in the time of Sultan Ahmad II. and Mubārak's grandson, Saiyid Hāmid, was killed by the Raushānās near Peshawar in 1585. Sikandar, or Iskandar, was born, he tells us (lith. ed., p. 292) in the year that Sultan Mahmūd II. (the Sultan Mahmūd III. of Bayley) was murdered, and in the town of Mahmūdābād, which was then the capital. Probably, he spent most of his life in the service of the Bokhara Saiyids in Gujarat. In speaking of the Whirlwind of Calamity that suddenly fell upon him he says he went on with his literary work as he had resolved to finish it, and as he got encouragement from great men, and from the Ḥāzarat Ishān, that is, his patron saint and teacher, who, no doubt, belonged to the Bokhara Saiyids' family. Possibly, this was Farid Bokhārī Mirtazā Khān, who was famed for his liberality, and was a great favourite with Jahāngīr. He is the No. 99 of Blochmann's list of officers.

Sikandar seems to have entered Jahāngār's service a few years after his Accession, for that prince, writing in his Memoirs in 1617, says that Sikandar had been in his service for eight or nine years. Jahāngār adds (p. 427 of vol. i. of translation): "Sikandar is by origin a Gujarati, and is not wanting in reasonableness (*māqūliyatī*, intelligence), and has complete information about the Sultans of Gujarat." He does not expressly mention the History, though that had been finished some years before. Apparently, Sikandar's service under Jahāngār was in connection with Gujarat, for he had a house and garden in Ahmadabad, and was visited there by Jahāngār, who did him the honour of plucking his figs with his own august hand.

It must be acknowledged that Sikandar's claims to research and impartiality are well-founded. Of course, as Sir Edward Bayley remarks, he writes entirely from a Muhammadan

point of view.* He is also too lenient in his judgments on the kings of Gujarat, and, especially, he condones too easily the atrocities of Bahādur Shāh. But that prince deserves to be forgiven much on account of his cruel death at the hands of the Portuguese, and of his being, on the whole, a kind and energetic ruler of his people. And Sikandar does not conceal Bahādur's evil deeds, though he is not sufficiently shocked at them. We can thus judge for ourselves what sort of man Bahādur was, and can see that he was, as Bābur describes him, "a bloodthirsty and ungovernable young man." Thus Sikandar tells us that Bahādur was a drunkard, and that in a fit of passion he hewed in pieces a beautiful and favourite concubine. He also tells us that Bahādur's ignorance was such that he could not read or write, and so allowed a spiteful secretary to write an improper letter to Humāyūn, which was the chief cause of his ultimate ruin. Nor does he spare Humāyūn, the grandfather of his sovereign and patron, for he tells us that he ordered a general massacre at Māndu, and that the streets and lanes ran with blood.

Sir Edward Bayley remarks (p. 66) that "a curious characteristic of the author of the *Mirāt Sikandarī* is that he first gives one version of a story, and then adds one or more versions of a different, or even contradictory, nature." This is true, the different versions being generally introduced with the caveat "*Naql ast*" ("It is reported"), and the practice is rather distracting, and suggests that Sikandar was wanting in literary skill, or impatient of the *labor limæ*. At least it was his duty to have told his readers what version he regarded as the true one. At the same time, the practice of giving different versions is evidence of good faith, and shows that the author wished to put every side of the case before his readers.

His chief faults are his garrulity, and his frequent attempts at fine writing, the result of which is that he is often obscure.

* His great hero is Maḥmūd Bigarha, who was an Augustus the Strong, and a merciless bigot.

He censures the author of the *Tārīkh Bahādur Shāhī*, whom he seems to treat as an unknown person, for his obscurity, saying that his style is such that his meaning can only be guessed at. But Sikandar had better have looked nearer home. The *Tārīkh Bahādur Shāhī* is his chief authority for Bahādur Shah's reign, and it is a great misfortune that it seems to have been lost. The earliest extant authority that we have for Bahādur's reign, unless Abū Turab's history, and the Arabic history of Gujarat be earlier, is the *Ṭabaqāt Akbarī*, which was written about 1590, and so some twenty years before the *Mirāt Sikandarī* was completed. Nizamu-d-dīn, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*, used the *Tārīkh Bahādur Shāhī*, and his account generally agrees with Sikandar's, showing that they relied on the same authority. Ferishta, for the most part, merely copies the *Ṭabaqāt*, as he himself avows. It is important to notice that the events of the reigns of two kings of Gujarat—Sultan Mozaffar II. the Merciful (*ḥalīm*, text, p. 180, and p. 300 of Bayley) and his son Bahādur, are related in two places in the *Ṭabaqāt* and Ferishta, once, and at full length, in the Gujarat chapter, and again, more briefly, in the Malwā chapter. Sir Edward Bayley's note at p. 250 is rather misleading, for it only refers the reader to the Malwā chapter.

The *Mirāt Sikandarī* has been lithographed at Bombay, A.D. 1891, and there are several MSS. of the work in the British Museum and the India Office. It has been partially translated by Professor Dowson and Sir Edward Bayley, but much has been left out, and the inserted passages are not always correctly translated. No doubt the translation had suffered from its being in both instances a posthumous work. An Indian gentleman, Fazl Ullah Latf Ullah, has published a translation at Bombay, in 1899. It is fuller, and more correct than Bayley's, but it, too, is not satisfactory. The preface has been left out, and different passages have been slurred over. The translator has not, apparently, made any attempt to collate MSS., though this is most important in the case of a work

which has so many variants. He does not tell us from which he has translated. He ignores the lithograph, and, though in his notes he speaks of his MSS., he does not tell us what, or where they are. There is room for a better and fuller translation.

SILHADĪ

I now proceed to give an account of Silhadī. His character and career are interesting, as he played a prominent part in Rājputāna and Mālwa in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and was in several respects a typical Rājput chief. In his luxury and extravagance, and in his enjoyment of "the Battle and the Revel," he resembles Ghiāsu-d-dīn, the famous Sultan of Mālwa, whom, perhaps, he imitated. The Sultans of Mālwa were indeed famous, both for their valour and their voluptuousness. As Sikandar says (152 of lithograph): "The Sultans of Māndū (the capital of Māndū) carried luxury and the joy of life to the highest conceivable point. Especially was this the case with Ghiāsu-d-dīn, so that, at the present day, if anyone be remarkable for his voluptuousness, and good fortune, he is called a second Ghiāsu-d-dīn." He lived to the age of eighty, and when the "death in the end," commemorated in the inscription in the Palace of Cabul, came to him, it found him ready to go, even though it came in the guise of a cup of poison given to him by his brutal son. The story is told in "Jahāngīr's Memoirs" (vol. i. of translation, pp. 365-367).

Silhadī resembles also the mythical Sardanapalus, as depicted by Byron, and their end was similar, for both perished in what Indians call *Johār*, or abandonment of body. But Silhadī's end was nobler than that of Sardanapalus, for he died fighting, after he had saved his women-kind and treasure from the enemy. It is also to be said that both Ghiāsu-d-dīn and Silhadī had not passed all their days in "Epicurus's sty." They fought bravely, and worked hard in their prime, though like Edward the Third

of England, Shah Jahan of Delhi, and Dost Muhammad of Cabul, they sank in their later years into sloth and debauchery. When one thinks of those Mālwa and Rājputana chiefs, one feels inclined to apply Alfieri's proud words about Italy, and to say that in Central India the plant Man grows more vigorously than elsewhere.

Silhadī has been variously described as a Gahlot, that is, a Sasodia, as a Tūrār, and even, perhaps, as a Puar or Punwar. The Ṭabaqāt and Ferishta always call him a Poorbiah, but this seems only to mean that he or his family originally belonged to the east of the Ganges, and, perhaps, to Oudh, as suggested by Bayley. It may even refer to the fact that he was born in Gwalior, which was then a separate Hindu Kingdom, and might be classed with Eastern Rājputāna or the kingdoms of Mālwa and Jaunpūr, which last, according to Bābur, was governed by a dynasty called the Poorbiah. It is Bābur who tells us Silhadī, or as he calls him, Saladin, was born not far from Gwalior city.

The passage is thus translated by Leyden and Erskine, p. 386 :—

"On Friday the 17th (Muharram 935, 2 October, 1528,) I visited Sokhjānah, the birthplace of Silāheddin. Above the village, between hill and valley, is the Lime and Sītaphul* (or Custard-apple) garden, which I walked

* The texts call it *Sadaphal*, which Bābur, p. 329 of Erskine, describes as a kind of orange, and which a Dr. Hunter, as quoted there by Erskine, calls a kind of lemon. There does not seem any authority for calling the fruit Sītaphal, or Custard-apple; and if the custard-apple be really a West Indian fruit, it seems doubtful if it had been imported into India in Bābur's time. I do not know why Erskine writes Sokhjāneh with a circumflex over the "a." None of the MSS., Turki or Persian, that I have seen have a long "a," not even B. M. MS., Add. 26,200, which was the Persian MS. of the Memoirs used by Erskine. There is a place named Sojna in South-East Gwalior, North-East Bhilsa, and in the Bhilsa Pargana, but it is much too far away from Gwalior to be the place which Bābur visited and returned from in the course of a morning. Possibly Suhania is the place meant. It is a place about twenty-five miles north of Gwalior, and is in the district of Tonwarghar, so called after the Tonwar or Tuār clan, and so a likely enough place to be Silhadī's birth-

through, and returned to the camp in the course of the first watch."

P. de Constulle's translation, ii., 351, is :

" Le vendredi, 17 du mois, j'allai visiter un verger planté de citronniers et de sevākil, situé dans une haute vallée au milieu des montagnes, audessus de Sonhdjna, village où est né Selah-ud-Din. Je rentrai au campement de l'avenue dans le cours du premier pahar et je mis pied à terre."

Sahajna is the name for the horse-radish tree, *Hyperen-thera Moringa*, and so would be a likely name for a village. Probably there are several villages so named, and the Sojna in South-East Gwalior may be one of them.

It is perhaps curious that Bābur should have visited Silhadī's birthplace, or should have mentioned the birthplace of a hostile Hindu. One would like to know if Silhadī was there at the time. But the notice is too brief and slight for any inference of acquaintanceship to be drawn. Bābur was fond of gardens and orchards, and the visit may have been merely prompted by curiosity.

As we have seen, Colonel Tod calls Silhadī a Tuār, and this is probably correct, for Tod is an authority on such points. He is also supported by the *Mirāt Sikandari*. Sir Edward Bayley says, p. 273, note, that the mention of Tuār's being Silhadī's tribe occurs only in one manuscript, and is there doubtful. The manuscript in question is designated by Bayley M.A., and was the one chiefly used by him. It was a very recent manuscript, its date being 1781, according to Morley's Catalogue, and its only value seems to be that it was clearly written, which good manuscripts seldom are. It belonged to the R.A.S., but is now either lost or mislaid. Neither Bayley nor Dowson seems to have examined the British Museum manuscripts of the

place. But it too is rather far off, and as it lay on the route north, which Bābur took shortly afterwards, it seems unlikely that he would have gone twenty-five miles to see a garden, and then return, when he could have visited it on his way to Agra.

Mirāt, several of which are described in Rieu's great catalogue. In the two of them which I have examined the name is given as Tuar. The references are: B.M. Add. MSS. 27, 253, p. 100*b*, lines 9 and 10, and Add. 26, 277, p. 88, 7 lines from foot. In the first of these the word is Tunwar, and in the second it is *todār* or towar. The corresponding page of the Bombay lithograph is 161, and there we have the unintelligible words "Rāj

ū

t

ū

r-al-asl." Perhaps, however, pūr should be read as Puar, and taken to mean that Silhadī was a Puar or Punwar, which is the name of a Rāj

ū

t clan settled in Mālwa (*I.G.* ii. 311) But even if so, I prefer the authority of Tod. It is also not unlikely that in the lithograph the dots are misplaced, and that *p* should be *t*. It seems obvious that pūr cannot here mean "son."

As regards the name Silhadī, it is a corruption of Silāditya, which is a royal name in Sanskrit, and occurs in Hiouen Tsang. Tod explains it as meaning "pebble of the sun," but Monier Williams renders it as "sun of virtue." There is also a word Siladiya, meaning "abounding in value, most honourable."

Silhadī's name first appears in the Mirāt Sikandarī at p. 161 of the lithograph, and p. 273 of Bayley, in the account of the reign of Sultan Mozaffar II. This was in 927 A.H., or 1521. He was then on his way, with 10,000 horse, to join Malik Ayāz, the governor of Surat. But while on the way he was induced by Mednī Rāo of Chanderī to join the Rānā. Silhadī was then lord of Raisen, a fortress now belonging to the Bhopal State. A later statement of the Mirāt, p. 226, mentions that he had been in possession of Bhilsa, now in Gwalior, in 938 A.H., for eighteen years, so he must have held it since 1514.

The story of how Silhadī became, outwardly and temporarily a Muhammadan, is as follows: Sultan Bahādur, of Gujarat, a cruel and hot-headed prince, and also a bigoted Muhammadan, had set out to conquer Mālwa. He took

Bhilsa, and was proceeding against Raisen, being enraged against Silhadī because he, a Hindu, had Muhammadan women in his harem. It was even said that among them were ladies who were connected with the royal family of Khiljī, which formerly ruled Mālwa. So Bahādur declared that he would put Silhadī to death unless he became a Muhammadan.

When Silhadī saw that Raisen was likely to fall, he offered to surrender, and to become a Musalman. His offer was accepted, and Silhadī left his brother Lachman Sen in charge of Raisen, and waited upon Bahādur and surrendered. Lachman also came in, but still did not give up the fort, and so Silhadī was put into confinement in Māndū. Bahadur was, however, unwilling to storm Raisen lest the Rājput̃s should, according to custom, perform the immolation-ceremony, known as the Johār, and the Muhammadan women in Silhadī's keeping should perish in it. And this was what eventually happened, for, when the Johār took place, Durgavati, Silhadī's chief wife, and the daughter of Rānā Sāngā, forced, it is said, the Muhammadan women to take part in it. There were four of them; three were burnt, but the fourth was saved by being accidentally covered under an unconsumed portion of the pyre.

After he had surrendered, Silhadī undertook to go to Raisen and to persuade his brother to give up the fort. But when he went there no one came out to meet him, and he acted with duplicity, and called out in a loud voice to the garrison to strengthen the walls, as an assault was about to take place. This made Bahādur very angry, and he again threatened to put Silhadī to death. Silhadī once more prevaricated, and promised that he would become a Muhammadan. So he was brought before Bahādur, and the form of conversion was gone through. Silhadī now was sent again to Raisen, and this time he had an interview with his brother, and then came back and told Bahādur that Lachman would surrender next day. Lachman did not do so, and again Silhadī was sent to Raisen. This was at his own re-

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION IN INDIA

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THE OBJECT OF THIS LECTURE

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Anthony said: “I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him.” Allow me to say after him: “I come to expose, with the object of *burying*, the evils of English education in India and *not to praise* it.” Grand and powerful, like Cæsar, English Education has established a vast, rich and fruitful empire in India; but, like that mighty Conqueror, it has merited unpopularity and deserves to be buried, but let not its “good be interred with its bones.” Nay, let the manifold blessings that English education has conferred on India be written in letters of gold, and preserved in the shrines of grateful Indian hearts, for all ages to come. It is English education that has arrested the course of degeneracy in India. It is English education that has awakened her from her slumber under fast-gathering ignorance and inertia—she is knowing herself, knowing her own glorious past and the grand destiny that awaits her in the future. It is English education by virtue of which I, coming from a place thousands of miles away, stand here to-day speaking before you within ear-shot of the greatest Assembly of the World (the Parliament)—and possibly the same education may

some day help me on to cover the few intervening yards and address the highest representative body of the Empire? But in this short lecture I propose to dwell on the *desiderata* of the present system of education in India, and the best way of improving it.

TWO SERIOUS CHARGES AGAINST ENGLAND IN HER EDUCATIONAL POLICY FOR INDIA

In our early days it was not uncommon to hear our good old men say: "The Ângréz Sarkâr (English Government) have introduced schools and colleges to make our boys *Kistâns* (i.e. irreligious)"; and we still hear the complaint that the chief object of education in India is to demoralize our people by exhausting their brains and ruining their health.

AN EMPHATIC REFUTATION

On the first count of these charges I was convinced long ago that England has been religiously scrupulous in refusing to interfere with religion in India, and we are lost in admiration of the wonderful toleration she has displayed. England could not do otherwise.

As to the second count I must admit I had my suspicions till very lately when I traced the evils of English education to their source. Now I am in a position to declare, in all sincerity, that never was a gift bestowed with nobler motives and more liberal intentions than that of education to India by Great Britain. If there was anything wrong in the gift, it was in the thing itself, and not in the motive of the giver.

If we analyze the defects of English education in India, we find that many of them are inherent, and many acquired.

INHERENT DEFECTS OF ENGLISH EDUCATION

England could not give to India what she did not herself possess. Even at this day England has not perfected her education, and there are many crying demands for its reform.

The departments of Business, Law, and Education are so vast and grand in England, that a congruous arrangement, or systematic organization, is conspicuous by its absence.

It is the instincts, or conscience, of the people to which we are thankful for the satisfactory working of these departments, and not to any system. There is not a single man in the whole of England who has got a full acquaintance with or responsibility for any of these departments.

It was not till 1870 that the Parliament of this country took up the question of education at all, and the Board of Education was created by an Act in 1899—only sixteen years ago—and since then some six more Acts have been passed to improve education. Inquiries at the Board of Education have shown that the Board has very little to do with education in the country, and it is directly connected with only one college at South Kensington. Inquiries at the office of the Educational Adviser to Indian students, revealed that it was impossible to prepare the statistics of the Indian students receiving education in the British Isles, although Dr. Arnold and Mr. Sen, to whom I am deeply indebted for valuable assistance in many ways, are very eager to compile them.

Lord Haldane's speeches emphasize the fact that England has been behind some continental countries in education; and the success of the County Council Schools proves that England has not only neglected education in India but at home also.

Notwithstanding the above reforms, England, even now in these modern days, does not as a country possess a perfect system of education—much less did she possess it in 1857 when she first gave India a University.

I cannot do better than quote Seguin's words on the inherent defects of European education in the nineteenth century :

“Education among the nations who proclaim that they are progressing, who modestly believe that they have

arrived at the highest apex of civilization, consists in shutting up thousands of children in what may be called barracks, where, without any attention being paid to physical difference or varied physiological needs or differences of intellectual character, they are given each day, every one of them, four or five intellectual rations which their memory is called upon to digest without any care whether the intelligence functions or not. The organs of sense or movement are more or less atrophied by this sedentary existence, where the whole personality—physical, intellectual and moral—devotes itself to the usage of one power which is called the ‘memory’—an average education, an education of the greater number, where thought is re-proved because it has not made itself so common or petty that the memory of all can contain it; an education in which men who think for themselves, independently of the current thought, are treated as dangerous animals.”

IS THERE EDUCATION IN INDIA IN THE PROPER SENSE OF
THE TERM?

The Act of 1857, by which the first University of India was incorporated, contains in its preamble the following words :—“ For the purpose of ascertaining by examination the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science and Art, and of rewarding them by Academical Degrees, etc.”

It is clear from these words that the object of the University *was not education*, but learning, or art.

Secondly, the University was only an examining University, and not a teaching University.

Thirdly, the University Degree was to indicate that a person had satisfactorily answered some question-papers, and not what he really knew or really *was*.

This is the standard which has been adopted by all the subsequently incorporated Universities.

The Chancellor of the Bombay University (Lord Sydenham) says in his Convocation address (1912-13):

“The miserable conception of the objects of a University was apparently due to the selection of the London University as a model for India. The London University has since undergone radical reforms, but the Indian Universities, misdirected from the start, remain unregenerate.”

The acquired defects of the originally defective system of education started in India, may be summed up in the following words, quoted from the report of the Education Commission of 1902 :

“In a rightly governed University the examination is subordinate to teaching. In India, teaching has been made subsidiary to examination.” Or, in other words, the education in the colleges or schools of India only consists of coaching students for examinations.

The Indian Universities were not, therefore, originally founded to impart *education* as we generally understand the term—viz., a harmonious development of the physical, intellectual and moral faculties, combined with some practical training or technical knowledge, to fit the recipient of education for public and individual duties in life or a station in life which suits his aptitudes and interests. [Of course, proficiency in Law, Medicine, and Engineering has been provided for with a view to give professional knowledge, but these are far beyond the reach of the average student.] The only object of the University is to test *proficiency*, by which you can understand, if you please, memory work, with the exception of a few practical branches of learning.

So intellectual work—rather, memory work—alone used to, and still does, constitute the education of an Indian student, with very few exceptions. Pure intellectual culture, or development of individuality, can hardly survive the ravages of the dire system, called Examination—which alone opens the portal to the recognition of proficiency.

CRAMMING

The loading of the memory with the maxims or compositions of persons, recognized as authoritative, has been

the practice in India from time immemorial. But the task was easy in the olden days, because—

First, the lines to be learnt by rote were condensed into aphorisms or versified.

Secondly, the teachers had a limited number of pupils and helped their memory by repeating the lines and paying individual attention.

Thirdly, there were fewer subjects and books to be learnt. But nowadays the multiplicity of subjects in a foreign language not arranged on mnemonic lines taxes Indian students' brains to the utmost, and plays havoc with their health when they have to prepare for examinations.

To the question, "Is it necessary to exercise the memory, or is it a self-imposed task?" my answer is:

"Under the present system, although memory work is *theoretically* not required, *practically* it is indispensable."

To answer some papers you must write like a machine, and the answers must be ready-made beforehand lying at your fingers' ends, and you are not given time to think. If you doubt my assertion, send for the paper that was set to me by a Cambridge professor, in my M.A. Examination (London) in June last, on the History of Literature, Philosophy, and Religion of ancient India. There were twelve questions, each covering a vast controversial subject, and involving a good deal of thinking and arrangement. To do full justice to a paper like this you cannot but have ready-made notes and cram them.

No doubt some examiners are very good, and set papers that test originality or knowledge of principles. [I may mention the papers of Professor Neill or Dr. Barnett, in connection with the said examination.]

But candidates for examinations, both here and in India, have no guarantee that their examiners will be sensible, and will not test memory but general information and intelligence.

Besides, the notes of certain professors are regarded as very helpful in securing passes in certain examinations ;

and sometimes these very professors are the examiners, and actually set questions from their own notes.

EXAMINATIONS

The usual form of examination—i.e., three hours' paper test—is a veritable curse of the civilized world ; and I am glad to notice that even in conservative England, the fountain-head of good or evil to India, there is a decided tendency among prominent thinkers in favour of *work-tests*, or at least a compromise between the work and examination tests, which, in my opinion, is the golden mean.

I am referring to educational questions in England again and again in discussing our educational policies, because we, in India, only copy England ; and the evils of examination are still lingering in England, as I can say from my experience of the Bar and London University examinations. Unless these evils be first dealt with in England it is extremely difficult to deal with them in India. Be it known to all that Indian Universities are virtually in the grip of those whose opinions are forged and prejudices hardened at Oxford, Cambridge, or London.

THE LOSS OF HEALTH

The most serious and inevitable outcome of cramming the notes in preparation for examinations is a sad detriment to health. This is caused by—

1. The preparation being allowed to be postponed till the eleventh hour.
2. The system of teaching which does not necessitate learning or regular work simultaneously.

I have personally worked from sunset to sunrise (with a break of an hour or two) for days together, and felt at the end as if I had shortened my life by ten years. The most painful sight I have ever seen is that of the Sikh youths straining their eyes over their books after sunset, in the Round Garden of Lahore, at the approach of the University

examinations. Certainly you would not be pleased with the spectacle thus presented by a lean, thin and spectacled son of the stalwart and robust warrior race of India.

An unsound mind often dwells in an unsound body ; and to allow our students to neglect their health, or to force them to do so by imposing on them too heavy tasks, is the greatest crime of which we can be guilty. If we put off the duty of looking after the physical and mental health of the younger generation, we should not blame anyone but ourselves for the sure danger that threatens us. The gain of learning is a poor substitute for the loss of health, and I would place health first, and notes, books, examinations, and degrees second, in importance.

TEACHING

Teaching in Indian schools and colleges implies, as I have already said, coaching for examinations. In some it consists of only giving notes, and the only thing our boys have to do at schools and colleges to *educate* themselves is to take down these notes, cram them, disgorge them at the examination-halls, and have nothing to do with them afterwards.

If you grant me indulgence I would recount my personal experience when I was undergoing a University education (at Queen's College, Benares, 1892-96). The Professor of English—a fresh arrival from Oxford—came laden with notes, read them out in the class, and went away with an air of academic severity. We saluted him each time we met him, and he was very careful to see that we all stood up when he entered the lecture-room. That is all we had to do with each other. Please do not be severe with me when I say that during the hot hour of the noon, when the learned professor dictated notes to my class of about 60 students—giving a note for nearly each and every word—I often fell asleep, or started scribbling something if awakened by a nudge from my neighbour to give me the tip that the professor was observing me.

We enjoyed a different atmosphere when we entered the room of our Principal. He was a venerable old man, like an impersonal saint, never interfering with anyone. All the time we were in his room he seldom looked up, but was busy dictating elaborate notes on Milton or Shakespeare from about ten notebooks and dictionaries that were spread before him. Even if he looked up he could not see us, partly because he was short-sighted, and partly because his vision was obstructed by the big, bulky volumes of Webster's Dictionary or Encyclopædia on the table before him. Unfortunately, the room had five doors; and the students, who intentionally sat right in the back, slipped out one by one as soon as the roll had been called. So when the good old Principal was giving the class heaps of notes—such as "*man* is a being composed of animality and rationality"—the majority of his students were listening to *ghazals*, sitting on the mango-branches in the garden*, or drinking *bhâng*, or singing and playing the tum-tum at a mess-house in the vicinity. Sometimes they were too reckless, and went out in large numbers, leaving only ten or twelve boys in the class. If by chance the Principal pulled down the Webster's Dictionary for a reference, he could realize at once that the attendance was too thin for a numerical strength of sixty. So he at once said, "Call the *bábu*"—*i.e.*, the clerk who would call the roll. But the student who went out to call the *bábu* called his fellow-students first, and many of them managed to steal in, unobserved by the Principal, before the *bábu* arrived with the register. [The *bábu* generally gave the truants time by first coming for orders and then going back to the office to fetch the register.] The absentees were fined a rupee each, but the penalty they had to pay in order to make up for the lost time was the sacrifice of health. I dare say very few of my countrymen have had the fortune of reading with such a saint-like professor as our Principal, but most

* Queen's College has the most picturesque building in India, and a lovely garden.

of them might have been under professors who are like note-producing machines.

IS THIS EDUCATION? Cannot the notes be printed in England, or the lectures recorded on gramophone plates and sent out to Indian students?

Except in a very few colleges, the professors and students seldom meet after their class work. One of the reasons is that the number of students makes individual attention very inconvenient.

There is another reason: you send out persons, who mostly know nothing about India, to teach India. Their early education or associations do not qualify them for a life among Indian students; nor are they acquainted with the genius, traditions, or characteristics of the people. So when they go out to India they scarcely feel interested in the social and private habits of the students, and, instead of mixing with them in order to lead and guide them, they resort to club life. Although in many cases their technical knowledge is all that is required, still, as professors, they are expected to know and advise the students in all their concerns.

The examples of these professors are adopted by our Indian professors, who also give lectures, receive *salâms*, and go home without caring for the private interests of the students.

The teacher is not bound to know whether a pupil of his has got his books or not, whether he has a lamp to read by, whether he works only one hour or eighteen hours a day, and (before the new regulations about lodgings) whether he lives at home or at a public house, or in some disreputable house.

TEXT-BOOKS

I have already said that graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, and London virtually rule the Indian Universities, because they govern the boards of studies in the important subjects. English is the most important subject, compulsory from top to bottom (*i.e.*, from B.A. to the last class of a secondary school). Forty per cent. marks are the minimum for a pass

in this compulsory subject in the Matriculation Examination, which is the most important examination, as I shall explain in the course of this lecture. As a matter of course, our students devote nearly half of their time to English, being anxious to pass in this subject of supreme importance though in a foreign language. What do you think is the nature of the text-books in English (of which about seven are prescribed, except in the Bombay University) for the Matriculation Examination?—practical? moral? teaching students English for business purposes? giving them useful knowledge, general information, knowledge of their own country's past or exemplary lives? Mostly not. There are some good books, especially in the Bombay Matriculation course, but I cannot understand what actuates the learned members of the Boards to prescribe such books as "Mary Queen of Scots," "Tanglewood Stories," "Jungle Book" or Kingsley's "Heroes."

First of all, the same lack of knowledge or of interest in Indian subjects is responsible for such a choice as that of Kingsley's "Heroes" for Indian students. I had occasion to help a student in studying this book. The poor student had been cramming himself with the Greek mythological names and classical allusions without being able to form clear ideas or to retain the names and allusions. His teacher was no better off. While text-books containing Indian mythological and classical allusions are conspicuous by their absence in the curricula for the London Matric. and Cambridge and Oxford Senior Examinations, why should a book of Greek traditions be allowed to find a place in the course for the Indian Matric.? Has India a traditional past inferior to that of Greece? Why should Indian students be required to cram Greek classical names before they have learnt their own.

What earthly good does "Mary Queen of Scots" do to an average Indian student? At best, he is shocked at the idea of a woman's having three marriages and many amorous affairs and in the end being beheaded!!

The object of our Text - book Committees is evidently to let our students have a taste of the beauties and fineries of English *literature* and the different styles of language. They have evidently an eye on those who will come on to study English literature in the colleges, who will use English Society, and who will perhaps come to study in England.

But how many are those who have the fortune to proceed to investigate the beauties of English literature either in Indian or English Universities? Do the thousands of our youths who drop off after the Matriculation Examination derive any material gain from books like "Mary Queen of Scots?" Does the book help him in his business or home life, or teach him language or style suitable for ordinary correspondence?

No, sir, we do not want novels and fairy tales to form the most important curriculum for the majority of our Indian Students. We want moral books like Smiles' "Self-Help" and "Character," "Moral Class Book" (Chambers), Tod's "Manual," "Book of Worthies" (as in the Bombay University), etc. Books of useful information such as "Scientific Recreations"; books of practical importance in teaching business-English; and epic stories (Hindu and Mohammedan) in translations, books on healthy culture (such as by Eustace Miles),* etc.

Is the English language so poor as not to contain books which aid the acquisition of useful knowledge and formation of character, and at the same time furnish beauties of language? Certainly it is not; but the University Boards seem to be too obsessed with some Waverley Novels and some fairy tales to look out for useful books. Indian youths are naturally sentimental, and we do not want their sentimentality to be fed with novels and fairy tales. We want useful and practical knowledge to neutralize sentimentalism.

NOTE.—It is far from me to run down the English professors. I only wish they had knowledge of and

* I do not refer to his pamphlets on food reform, but to his books on physical and psychological training.

interest in Indian subjects during the course of their early education. In my lecture at the University College on the 18th October, I dealt with the subject of introducing books on Indian traditions in the Matriculation and College courses specially for those who intend to go up for Indian Service. Nor do I deprecate Scott's *Waverley Novels* and Kingsley's "*Heroes*." They have got their exceptional merits. My question is: Are they comparatively useful in relation to Indian students?

PREVENTIVE MEASURES OF EDUCATION

Like the circumlocution office of Dickens, our Universities study to some extent how "not to do" things! Some of their measures, derived of course from England, are expressly preventive or deterrent. There are *some* hard and fast rules that prevent education, that stifle individuality, and that arrest progress, discourage originality, stun genius and kill intellect.

One of these is the rule about compulsory passes in many subjects. This wrecks some of the most shining intellects of our country. I have personal knowledge of many promising youths who might have ornamented this or that particular branch of knowledge but for their weakness in some other subject in which a pass was compulsory. Many a genius in literature, many mute rhetoricians and many inglorious mathematicians lie buried under the wrecks caused by examinations.

Not an inconsiderable number of the Editors of the Indian Vernacular Newspapers are what they call "plucked entrances"—people who were well up in literature and history, but could not pass in mathematics. All these people must be smarting under the inhuman or barbarous treatment of the Universities which shut their doors against people who want to get on in what they know, but cannot get admission because of what they do not know.

Is it absolutely necessary for practical purposes of life

that we should pass in all the four or five subjects of the University?

How many of the Ministers, who are now conducting the most historic and momentous event of the world, remember their geometry?

What right have we—who call ourselves civilized—to smother the shining intellect which delights in literature but refuses to take in logarithms, sines or cosines, or *vice versa*?

We are justified in our attempt to develop a harmonious knowledge of many subjects, but it is criminally culpable to ruin a youth by *preventing* him from getting on in three subjects because he has not sufficient proficiency in an additional one. We might have conceded to the maxim of sacrificing the few for the benefit of the many, but here is a case of sacrificing the many for the benefit of a few.

If we compare the number of students that drop off every year (after the English Middle, Matriculation, and Intermediate Examinations) with the number of successful candidates for Degrees, each year the ratio will roughly come to 100 to 1. Out of this 100 I venture to say that at least 50 leave off, not because they do not want or deserve further education, and not because they are weak and unfit to continue, but because they are not clever enough in one or two subjects, although they may be genuises in others. For this crime the Mother University abandons them, and allows them to perish intellectually. I call this barbarous! We form a very wretched conception of a University if we only intend it to give *distinction* and not education. You are justified in withholding your diplomas and Academic Degrees from persons who do not come up to your standards, but you have no justification whatever in refusing the sacred right to education.

If you examine this question more closely in India you will find that the majority of the youths of rich or talented families suffer owing to this barbarous prohibition. It is

among them that you find marked inclination for particular subjects, and dislike for others. Their parents are sometimes prepared to pay ten times the college fees if they are allowed to proceed in the subjects in which they are interested.

Our young prince of Jhalawar used to beam with intelligence, and at nine he could recite from Shakespeare "Friends, Romans, Countrymen," etc. He was a bright young fellow, and we predicted a great intellectual future for him. He was sent to the Mayo College, the best residential college in India. Alas! one year's education was enough to squeeze out all bright parts from this promising hopeful of our State. He failed in arithmetic, and was not promoted. He was not good at figures. He was not a *Baniya's* son, you know! Our Maharaja—many of you know how enlightened he is—was prepared to appoint the best mathematical teacher available to attend to his son's arithmetic at home, if he was allowed to get on with the other subjects in a higher class. This was impossible under the *system*!—and "Gott Strafe" that system!

Believe me this shining future Ruler of our State got, in the course of two years, quite crushed and cramped, all his spirits vanished, his interest and strength in English were gone, and he became a dull, average scholar.

The system—which may God remove as soon as possible—is not so rigorous in England. The mathematical teacher of the lowest class at Eton explained to me, when I visited his class by Dr. Lyttelton's kind arrangement, that his class is divided into about four sections, or forms, in mathematics according to the boys' progress. Besides, the schools in England have a wider range of subjects, and examine what are actually or practically taught. The London University examines candidates for Matriculation thrice in a year, and under easier terms than any Indian University, as well as grants many privileges and exemptions.

LACK OF RELIGIOUS, MORAL AND PRACTICAL EDUCATION

It is really very curious to observe that England, which has defied religious authority and fostered science since the age of Bacon, has still religious education in all schools and colleges. Even the scientists, attending an anniversary meeting of the greatest scientific association—the Royal Society—attend a service in Westminster Abbey. The Benchers of the Inns—who are, mind you, Barristers—"the Devil's own"—read a benediction at their dinner. Almost all the schools and colleges are under reverend gentlemen. But in India science and godless education have been introduced at one and at the same time. England, with centuries of scientific education, is still not prepared to part with religious education. India received education *minus* religion without any preparation at all. I can quite understand that it could not be helped, but you can imagine the effect of this abrupt change imposed on India's mind—this sudden revolution!

While the evils of an examining English University are fully existing in Indian Universities, they are without the redeeming features or compensating influences that can be found in England. However defective the School, College, or University education of an English boy may be, the defect is made good by home-influences and association. Send the young John Bull or Tommy Atkins to any part of the world, he will as a rule rise to the occasion and meet the situation, for his instincts and early practical education fit him for emergencies in life.

Please do not think I am sarcastic when I say that even the animals of England are educated. The greatest function of education is self-control—the control of the right limb, organ or faculty for a right purpose. If we take this standard we find that an infant of England is more educated than a graduate of India. Often do I enjoy the intelligent but controlled glances of a baby lying in its mother's lap in an omnibus—*intelligent* because they show

that it distinguishes and is interested in my colour, *controlled* because there is a studied suppression of curiosity in order to be polite or considerate.

Have you ever found yourself in the midst of children—I mean poor children—at a Kinema Hall or School-picnic-party? If not, you have missed a great treat. Among many sweet recollections of the hours I have spent with England's innocent juveniles, one will always remain vivid in my mind. A boy of about two was sitting by my side at a Picture Palace. I soon won his friendship and confidence, and he gave me, in his lisping language with a touch of cockney, his impressions and explanations of the different pictures. I gave him some chocolates. His guardian, a girl of seven years, who was sitting in the next chair at once dictated: "Say, 'thank you,' dear; say 'thank you' to the gentleman." The boy, instead of thanking me, put his arms around my neck and kissed me.

Have you been on the Hammersmith Bridge, going to Harrods' Depôt at Barnes in order to see the Oxford and Cambridge Boat-race? If so, you must have had the exciting experience of edging your way through one of London's greatest crowds. A crowd like that, in India, cannot pass without fatal accidents or free fights, unless controlled by an army of police or military officers. But here the fingers of policemen stationed here and there were controlling the crushing traffic and the stream of countless passengers as usual. No pushing, no elbowing, no jostling, no struggling, and no fighting—all considerate towards and regardful of one another, patiently waiting their turn to advance in an orderly way.

These are all the results of practical education, perhaps, of several generations.

These influences which educate a man at home, in the streets, and in the gatherings, either for games, sports, or lectures, are very few in India. The greater is, therefore, the need of making up for this *desideratum* by school-training. But in our schools, while a boy is compelled to

cram his lessons, he is not compelled to look after his health. He is closely examined in his memory work, but is never examined in his morals. No moral courses are prescribed, the books taught being mostly novels or fairy-tales. No control is exercised over a boy's private life. The certificate or diploma he holds from the University only attests that he satisfactorily answered a question-paper—and this is all. This constitutes his passport to life, this enables him to enjoy privileges in preference to his fellow-beings, and this admits him to tasks or duties which involve not the answering of question-papers, but practical knowledge, executive tactics, and extraordinary mental and moral qualifications, such as perseverance, patience, strict justice, and honesty, etc.

THE RUSH FOR B.A. AND B.Sc.

There is a rush for the Degrees B.A. or B.Sc., because these are the only two portals to recognition of any kind. To go up for Law, Medicine, Engineering, Government Services, one has to pass through either of these portals. Even the Benchers of the Inns here do not admit a student from India unless he is a graduate. Yet we hear people, who indirectly make this rush for B.A. and B.Sc. compulsory, complain that in India there *is* such a rush.

Can you tell me what else a poor Indian student should do but rush for B.A. or B.Sc.? He cannot enter any department for a decent livelihood unless he has compulsorily studied Waverley Novels, Tanglewood stories, Wordsworth, Shakespeare, Milton, and Tennyson, etc., and become a graduate. He has no technical or practical education to fall back upon for a decent existence, inasmuch as the country provides practically none.

In a vast agricultural country like India how many agricultural schools are there? In a country which developed industry when the greater part of Europe used stone for implements, how many industrial schools are there? How

many technical institutions are there to fit the huge army of candidates for the growing branches of business?

Strictly speaking, mass-education in India means coaching for Academic Degrees. I call it SHAMEFUL, both for the people and for the Government.

THE CRYING DEMANDS

I admit that the Government is fully alive to the evils and needs, and it has already inaugurated some reforms. But the measures taken are not sufficient. I appeal both to the Government and my patriotic countrymen to pay more attention to education than has hitherto been given. Education of the masses is a more important and a more serious problem than they have seemed to realise. The University rules, evidently framed by those who have an eye on a selected few, intended to go up for Degrees, to come over to England for education to compete for the Civil Service, or to taste the sweets of English literature and be saturated with English phrases and idioms, etc., should be extended to meet the case of the millions who are not lucky enough to be able to avail themselves of these higher destinies and pleasures. We must attend to the masses as well as we attend to the few. Both are equally important.

To do this we must take a candidate for the Matriculation Examination as the centre of our consideration. We must think of those hundreds of thousands who give up education after the Matriculation or Intermediate examinations. We must direct the education into a practical channel.

Moreover, High or Matriculation Schools are springing up like mushrooms in India. A district of Bengal, where there were only three High Schools twenty years ago, now possesses about twenty. Certainly the committees which can maintain these schools can also easily maintain a practical class (technical or agricultural) attached to these schools.

As I take Matriculation as the central point of Indian education, I propose to reconstitute it and follow up the

reform to the higher courses. I beg leave to place before you my humble scheme. Agreed as we may be in our views on the evils, I am fully aware that we are divided on our proposals for reforms. So in proposing reforms I am sure I am treading on highly controversial ground. But I am in earnest, and I launch to-day my campaign with a serious motive. I invite fair criticism. I may be wrong in details; I may have made many mistakes in my suppositions. But I want to be told and guided by those who are worthier to take a lead in this matter. I am serious, but only for what would be really good for my country, and not for *my* scheme. I do not care what fate my scheme meets with so long as there are earnest and adequate measures adopted in the right direction—*e.g.*, giving the masses some practical education to fit them for suitable stations in life.

In the nineteenth century we could not claim from England much, for she herself did not possess practical educational institutions. But to-day she has a splendid institution in the shape of a Central County Council School, and she must give us that. We Indian patriots must have this institution in the place of a High School with suitable adaptations, *e.g.*, having an *agricultural bias* for country schools, and Indian vernaculars and Indian subjects.

THE PROPOSED SCHEME

The Educational Department of the Government of India should, in co-operation with the Universities and Municipalities, start Educational Boards of two kinds.

1. Circle Boards, belonging to each Division.
2. District Boards belonging to each District.

The members should be both nominated and elected.

The function of the District Boards should be, subject to the control of the Circle Boards, to raise funds, control the Committees of High Schools in practical education, and provide for inspection and examination.

The Curriculum and Syllabus should be proposed, in conformity with the general educational policy of the country,

by the Circle Boards, paying attention to the requirements proposed by the District Boards, and should be confirmed by the Universities.

Each Metropolis should have a Model Polytechnical Institution, and a Model Municipal School, based on the lines of the Central London County Council Schools, with industrial and commercial bias. Each province, or, rather, Circle, should have model agricultural schools—teaching botany, agriculture, horticulture, farming, dairy work, and veterinary science, etc.

All these model schools should have arrangements to train teachers for the district or village schools, which should be asked to depute teachers for training, and starting practical classes, either agricultural, or industrial, or commercial, within five years : if a school fail to have a practical class in five years (?) it should forfeit affiliation.

THE MATRICULATION COURSE

I. COMMON COURSE

(1) *Languages*.—(a) Vernacular—useful literature ; *i.e.*, giving general information. (b) English—simple composition, letter-writing, and translation of easy passages.

(2) *General Knowledge* (In English or vernacular, optional).—(a) (i.) Elementary History of India and rest of the British Empire ; (ii.) a synopsis of ancient Indian traditional history. (b) Interesting places and objects of the world—*i.e.*, pictorial and descriptive geography. (Illustrations by slides in geography.) (c) Elementary science and practical hygiene. (d) Moral maxims, with common religious precepts, and biographies (selected).

Text-books to be especially written by competent persons appointed by the Universities both in English and vernacular.

In schools which can afford to provide for teaching of these subjects in both English and vernacular, the option will lie with the students. In others it should be left to the choice of the School Committees.

NOTE.—This is a golden mean between the two extremes proposed on the subject : whether the medium of teaching in India should be English or vernacular. The question will soon adjust itself if given the above optional course, and the country will decide.

(3) *Mathematics*.—(a) One book of geometry, or a simplified geometry containing as much matter as Book I. of Euclid, and rudimentary mensuration. (b) Algebra—simple equations and problems. (c) Fractions, square root, rule of three, percentage and interest (simple) in arithmetic.

II. SPECIAL COURSE

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|---|--|
| | <i>Either—</i> |
| (a) Students passing in two or more advanced courses will be admitted into Colleges of Arts to study the same subjects. | (a) Advanced course of two or more subjects.
Text-books as at present in Matriculation. |
| | <i>Or—</i> |
| (b) Students passing in this subject may join an Agricultural College if they like. | (b) Practical agricultural course in village schools. |
| | <i>Or—</i> |
| (c) Students passing in either of these branches may join the Provincial Poly-technical College if they like. | (c) Technical course—(i.) Industrial; (ii.) Commercial; (iii.) Artistic. |

EXAMINATIONS AND INSPECTION

The Circle Boards should arrange special or general examinations, and special inspection. If possible, they should appoint Touring Examiners.

Special Examination.—(1) The School Committees with the aid of outside Examiners, nominated or sanctioned by the Board, should hold final Examinations, under instruction, and/or supervision of the Boards. Or, (2) The Touring Examiners or Inspectors will hold the Examination.

General or Scholarship Examination.—Each Circle Board should arrange, in co-operation with its University, a General Examination for those candidates only who enter to compete for scholarships.

“Estimates.”—The Committee will, with the aid of the Head Master, prepare an “estimate” of the work and career of each school-leaving student.

These “estimates” will (1) sum up the students’ work during the whole course of studies—*i.e.*, tasks and exercises, and results of periodical examinations; (2) assign marks for the students’ physical, moral, and religious cultivation, or progress, with detailed remarks about special features in the character.

These “estimates” should be verified and countersigned by Touring Inspectors or Examiners.

Diplomas or Certificates.—Diplomas or Certificates will be given, either by the Circle Boards or (in the case of

the General Examination) by the Universities, based on the result of the Special or General Examination $\frac{1}{3}$ plus "estimates" $\frac{2}{3}$.

COLLEGES AND DEGREES

Every College should have an Entrance Examination, for the admission of students. Students, holding diplomas or certificates of having passed a General or Special Examination, should be entitled to exemption from this Entrance Examination. But students holding only school-leaving "estimates" should not claim the exemption.

All Colleges should be residential, and if a college has no boarding-house it may arrange with house-owners to enter into agreement about the control and supervision of the students, as under the new regulations.

Subjects shall be optional, although a Principal or professor may guide a student in his choice of subjects.

Over and above giving notes, the professors should require the students to produce some work weekly or fortnightly.

For passes the sum-total of the work done throughout the course of training should count $\frac{2}{3}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$, and the Final Examination result $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$. Thesis and lecturing (as in some Continental Universities) will be necessary for all higher Degrees.

The same sort of "estimates" (as for matriculated students) should be made out by the Principal and professors, including marks on moral and physical education.

Physical and moral education should be compulsory, and should be attended to by the professors. The professors should give more attention to these than to their notes.

(The Engineering Colleges of India, especially of Rurki, approach the standard of model colleges in India).

INFANTS' CLASSES

My heart bleeds for the poor infants of India who enter school houses trembling like sheep entering a slaughter-house. They are compelled to cram extraneous matter which they never grasp, and they are scarcely allowed

movements and amusements which are wholesome both to their physical and mental growth.

Infants when they are only twelve nearly finish arithmetic. Boys of fourteen or fifteen do stocks and discounts. To tell you the truth, even many teachers do not know what stocks really are. The babies are overloaded with text-books, books on object-lessons, science, kindergarten, etc., wretchedly printed generally. (Let me mention one book, Jadav Chandra Chakravarti's Arithmetic in Hindi (1911), small print, wretched paper, containing tricky questions which you and I cannot answer.)

The Text-Book Committees know full well that there is a dearth of teachers for teaching object-lessons and kindergarten and books on science, and yet they prescribe books. The result is that the teachers make the babies commit to memory kindergarten and object-lesson books. It was in 1903 and 1904 that I was the Head Master of a first-class High School,* affiliated to the Calcutta University. I was pained to notice that the lower-class students were not doing well in any subject, although the teachers were active in chastising the poor "kids." I soon found out that the text-books were too many, and the boys were required to learn by rote kindergarten lessons, object-lessons, science lessons, geography lessons, English lessons, vernacular lessons, besides doing home tasks in arithmetic and drawing. As a matter of course, they could not master their lessons in any branch, although they worked hard at home for five or six hours. So I had to take up the teaching of kindergarten and object-lessons in the lowest classes and dispensed with cramming and home-tasks in the above branches. I could not dispense with the subjects altogether, because the Inspector would have come down upon me and stopped the school grant.

The proposed scheme will certainly lighten the burden of subjects and text-books for our infants. For teaching kindergarten and object-lessons I would propose that the

* Kalia, which the President knows.

European schools in India should kindly agree to train Indian girls as teachers in these subjects. Besides, the proposed Municipal Schools at the Metropolises should train teachers in kindergarten and object-lessons as well as healthy amusements and educative games for infants. The schools should be compelled to have trained teachers to teach the above in five years.

FEMALE EDUCATION

I cannot deal at length in a short paper like this with this very important subject. In spite of all the inducements which the Government and our leading countrymen, including some illustrious ladies, have given to the girls of India, female education has not advanced so appreciably as it ought to have done. But the result is encouraging, and we should not despair.

I would strongly recommend the arrangement made by the County Councils here to teach girls housekeeping and sanitation to be adopted by the proposed Model Municipal School (Girls' Department).

Nothing pleased me so much as during the inspection of a County Council School in the city to learn that the girls of a class could all swim and some of them had won prizes for saving lives.

Many ladies are doing laudable work here in England in the cause of female education in India. I may mention the name of Mrs. P. L. Roy, who is trying to train Indian ladies in kindergarten and then send them out to India as lady teachers. Lady teachers conforming to social requirements can alone expedite success in female education in India of to-day.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN INDIA

Universal education is destined to come some day. But I am not in a hurry for it. I should first put education on a right footing and then let it be diffused.

I am confident that there will come a day, and that in the near future, when every man and woman, of some pro-

vinces at least, will be able to read, write, and cipher. This is bound to come without any compulsion, for I can feel the pulse of our people, and say that very few of them in the advanced provinces like to let their children go without some sort of education.

Of course, this will be helped by the starting of free elementary schools. But I believe that if the country or some particular province be really prepared for it, the people can voluntarily subscribe to a fund and organize free primary education without the Government's aid. The Ruler of our State (Jhalawar) is very satisfactorily diffusing primary education both among boys and girls by using *moral compulsion*. Not only is primary education free, but we supply books and materials *gratis*. We teach *purdah* girls and then send them out as teachers for village girls. His Highness arranged with some very qualified nuns to teach our girls at the capital with an agreement that no religious discourse should be given to the girls against their own faith.

For the present, I would leave the question to the District Boards.

SECTARIAN UNIVERSITIES

I am afraid that godless education has been in our country too long to allow us to drive back the free-thinkers into the folds of dogmatic religion.

Sectarian education will be doomed to failure in the teeth of the opposition set up by the material influences now acting on the country. It will only give rise to hypocrites.

But I am for Universities which will teach rational (not dogmatic) religion. Every student is entitled to know about his ancestral religion, and we must help him. But in a Sectarian University there must be safeguards against the growth of religious fanaticism, and religious prejudices and hatreds.

These prejudices and hatreds are good neither for the State nor for the people.

Religious education must keep pace with modern material

progress, and must first of all train the minds of students in toleration and Universalism. I worked with the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga in an all-India Hindu religious movement. Both of us were agreed as to the lines of religious education; but I perceived that it was very difficult to hold the balance even between extreme opinions.

HOW CAN CRAMMING BE STOPPED?

The Indian Universities are wide-awake on the question, and they are hitting right and left to strike down the dire evil—cramming, but I am afraid their hits are like those of the shrapnels, which were bursting miles away from the “Zep” that did us the honour of paying us a visit in early September. Instead of one book in the Matriculation English Course they have now prescribed seven, some to be learnt thoroughly, and some, I may say, in a rough and ready way. They certainly hoped to score a great success in stopping cramming by resorting to this method; for it was impossible for the boys to cram the notes on all these books, and the examination was sure to test their true knowledge of English. Let me humbly venture to remark that this was a great mistake. The poor students who had only to cram notes on one book have now to do the same with notes on seven.

At the root of this mischief lies the fact—

1. That the answers to all the questions (except those in the vernacular) are to be made in English, and that enough opportunity is not given to the students to master the English language before they are required to answer in this language.

The real cause is not that our Indian students cannot naturally do intelligent work and love to cram, though it may be partially true. I challenge any Indian educational expert to disprove what I say.

The students are required to explain English passages in English, to write historical accounts in English, and so

forth. The majority of them do not feel confident in the correctness of their English and therefore cram.

In my previous remarks on the text-books I might appear unduly severe. Let me reiterate that those books are worth their weight in jewels; but what I mean to say is simply this: You give our students bejewelled cloaks when they are wanting in shirts; you must give them a good grounding in the *language* first before you give them *literature*. The only remedy is either reduce the bulk of the courses, so as to give the students time to learn English syntax and idioms thoroughly, or abolish English as a medium of teaching and answering.

I speak from a teaching experience of long-standing, both private and public, in several Provinces. When I was in the fifth (i.e. from the top) class of a High School, I was doing only fractions in arithmetic and no algebra or geometry; but I had a good knowledge of English syntax. This knowledge aided me greatly in all my career, and I had no necessity to cram. Sixteen years afterwards, when I became the Head Master of the same school, I was horrified to see that the students of the same class were required to learn almost the whole of arithmetic and some algebra and geometry to boot. They had many other additional works to do which we had not in our day. But this gain in *quantity* of work had necessitated a terrible loss in *quality*, for I found, too, that the boys were hopelessly backward in English syntax, and this weakness they never could make up, being heavily pressed by multiplicity of subjects and the quantity of works prescribed. Hence the students of the top classes could not have a solid footing in grammatical English.

In the Matriculation class, while we had a thorough grounding in English syntax, and a fair knowledge of English idioms, and had to study thoroughly only one book—Selections by the University—in English, the students at present have to read seven books without a complete mastery of the grammar.

I repeat my proposal : Either the Courses be reduced to give the students more time to learn English syntax and idioms thoroughly, or English be abolished as medium of teaching and answering.

The Boards of Studies in English generally consist of persons whose mother language is English, or who have associated with the English from their early years, or who become professors without first becoming school-teachers. The school-teachers alone know the practical difficulties in teaching English and avoiding cramming in order to answer in English.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS

I am doubtful if politics can be altogether divorced from education, especially in India. Even if you keep it apart from College courses the students will not keep apart from political agitations ; and if you suppress their participation in political movements by legislation or regulations they will do worse—*i.e.*, form Secret Societies. I speak from my personal experience of all the Provinces, and you will do well to believe in me.

What are the reasons ? If you philosophize on the subject, you will discover two principles :

1. In countries partially civilized it is the students who take an active part in politics. The students know that their guardians know nothing about the State and Foreign affairs, and the guardians feel their inferiority in knowledge, and hence either do not interfere or are easily over-ruled. In England we find demonstrations organized by adults, both men and women. If this were the case in India the students would cease agitating and take their place in society.

2. In the warm countries of the East everything develops and decays quicker than in the cold countries of the West. You may experiment the truth of this remark by putting a rose-bud in a very warm room near the fire and another in a very cold room without a fire and then see what happens. As a consequence the public spirit of Indian people generally manifests itself about the age of sixteen or say

eighteen, and as a rule dwindles about twenty-six. Exceptions only prove the rule. So you should blame nature and not our poor students if they are anxious to take part in their country's public affairs in their school days.

This being the natural situation, let us consider what is created by the popular leaders and the Government. The difference is that while the former address directly to the students, the latter do it indirectly through circulars and gagging legislation.

Referring to the boycott movement of Bengal and the subsequent stubborn political antagonism of students against the Government let me relate one incident. When Lord Hardinge arrived as the Viceroy of India, he made the round of several students' messes in Calcutta and talked to them frankly and sympathetically. Believe me, this had an effect in disarming the students' hostility to an extent which neither "Fuller nor Carlyle circulars" (as the students call them) could ever attain. This made them feel that the head of the Indian Government was not a despotic, disinterested demigod, but a human being who was really interested in their welfare. So if you want to win them over, go to them, mix with them, talk to them freely and sympathetically, and trust them and treat them as intelligent and faithful citizens of the Empire. Take my word of honour—my country has a heart, and a noble heart too. Her sons are sure to regard you, love you and follow you, if you have only the key to open their hearts and if you prove to them that they are not the "sons of slaves" (subject nation)—as they often call themselves—but that they enjoy as much liberty and freedom as the schoolboys in England.

The paper-control by regulations and circulars is worse than useless. It sends the bad blood and the hostile spirit down into deeper channels; but you can confide in them as the Eton Masters do in the "Pop," and if your confidence is genuine, and if you give them adequate doses of wholesome politics, or rather good citizenship without

depriving them altogether of it, you may rest assured they will rid the country of anarchy. It is they who can do it best, and you can safely entrust to them the task. To do this you must prove as one of them, for which purpose again you must be interested in the study of their genius, traditions, and characteristics, on which I have already laid stress.

EDUCATION AND POLITICS

There is as much distrust in the Government interference here as in India. Governing bodies of Universities or private educational institutions are very chary in allowing Government control. Of this I had full knowledge when I was canvassing for the Maharaja of Darbhanga for a seat in the Imperial Legislative Council which was about to pass Lord Curzon's University Act Bill. There was a tie between the Maharaja, Dr. Ashutosh Mukerjee and Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee. The last-named patriot of India bitterly opposed the Act and the election of Dr. (Sir) Mukerjee who supported it.

In 1896 I attended the National Congress in Calcutta as a delegate from Benares. I was very eager to move a resolution urging the Congress to take up the question of education permanently and try to effect some reforms on the lines I have just laid before you. I sent up a printed copy of my resolution and I was not even deigned an answer. Perhaps I was too young to be listened to, but then they had no business to accept me as a delegate. This was the first and last time I attended a Congress meeting as a delegate. I felt something was wrong. I perceived that there was too much of *begging* from the Government and too little of doing. I thought that education was the primary duty of a patriot in India, and that the Congress was not paying sufficient attention to this duty. I conceived then, as I do now, that we ought to think more about making *men* than *laws*.

Some of my compatriots will turn on me to ask : " How can we make men unless the laws are changed ? "

So far as I do know, the Government have no laws to prohibit people from starting free primary schools or technical schools, or vocational and agricultural schools with special provision for character building. Why does not the Congress take up the task of fulfilling the desideratum in the education of our country? Why do not the Municipalities, in which our compatriots muster strong, found model and up-to-date institutions for practical education?

It is useless to suggest the above course. We look up to the Government for anything and everything, and the Government and the patriots must co-operate in reforming the present education. Although we may have a difference of opinion as to the exact nature of the reforms, so far as I know, both the Government and the patriotic leaders are at one as to the absolute necessity of technical education—vocational and agricultural education, *i.e.*, more of bread and butter science in India. They are both agreed that these, as well as physical, moral and religious education, are badly needed, so they must, at least in this matter, trust each other and co-operate earnestly to bring about the desired end.

The A B C of my politics is: No country can prosper unless it co-operates with the Government, and that no Government—be it alien or native—can be stable unless it acts on the maxim, "What is good for the people is good for the State."

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, October 25, 1915, at which a paper by Pandit Shyama Shankar, M.A. (London), barrister-at-law (Foreign and Educational Member, Jhalawar State), entitled "The Problem of Education in India," was read. Sir Frederick William Duke, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen were present : Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Frederick Lely, K.C.I.E., and Lady Lely, Sir Daniel Hamilton, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. A. Bruce Joy, Mr. J. G. Cumming, C.I.E., Mr. S. P. Desai, I.C.S., Mr. V. S. Bhide, I.C.S., Countess de Bremont, Mr. E. H. Tabak, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, the Misses Elmslie, Mrs. Collis, Miss Dove, Miss Wild, Miss Good, Miss R. Good, Dr. and Mrs. Barker, Mrs. and Miss Hamilton, Mrs. Haigh, Mr. J. G. Ritchie, Miss Bell, Mr. K. H. Ramayya, Mrs. F. H. Skrine, Mrs. Wigley, Mrs. Reinold, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. Syud Hossain, Col. D. G. Pitcher, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Mr. M. Hassanally, Mrs. Lyth, Miss A. A. Smith, Mr. Marris, Mr. R. H. Cook, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. J. D. Nicholson, Mr. M. L. Dames, Mr. F. H. Brown, Dr. T. Miller Maguire, Miss Maguire, the Rev. P. M. Alldens, Dr. Henri and Madam Leon, Mr. C. V. Sakhalkar, Mr. Sanhta, Mr. and Mrs. James Macdonald, Mr. and Mrs. Sieveking, Mr. B. L. Sharma, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., hon. secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, before beginning the business of the evening, perhaps you will pardon me for referring to what has been to a great many of us a great loss which we have suffered in the last few days by the death of one who was a very true and devoted friend to India, Sir Henry Cotton. He was not a member of this Association, but he was a very frequent attender here, and his voice was often heard in this building. I will say no more of him, except that I had the honour of serving under him many years ago, and I thought we should not let the occasion pass in silence.

Now, we have before us this evening one of the most interesting questions connected with India, and one in which the extent of achievement, whatever we may think of it, is already very great, but in which the problems of

It is all very well to find fault with systems, but sixty years ago, when the first Indian University Charter was framed, the University of London was the last word in education in this country. It was the only possible model, and any attempt to frame an Indian University at that time on the model of our older Universities, as they then were, must necessarily have failed. Things are different now. With regard to the new Dacca University, of which the constitution has been prepared and which will soon be under way, the constitution is entirely on the lines of the English residential Universities ; there is a tutorial system, and all those evils of the overcrowded classes, in which the Professor merely dictates notes and has no other communication with the students, will be done away with. There will also be room for sectarian education and the authorities of any of the colleges which please may insist on religious education within the college. That is a new development which, if it succeeds, as I trust it will, may well entirely change the face of University education in India. But apart from that there is, I think, a desire in many parts of India—and a great deal of progress has been made in that respect—for a change in this pernicious system of education for those whose sole object is not to proceed with the University course. In both the United and the Central Provinces, I think, the matriculation examination for all purposes has been now altered to a School-leaving Certificate. I do not know how far that fulfils the ideal the Pandit has put before us, that the diploma should rest two-thirds on the history of the student and his work and only one-third on actual examination. At any rate, it is an elastic system capable of any degree of modification, and I see opportunities of modifying it for the purpose of vocational teaching ; that is to say, the leaving certificate is a certificate that can be given for various kinds of work.

Then again, there are perhaps more vocational schools scattered up and down India than the lecturer has led you to suppose. True, they are very few in proportion to the total number of schools, but still there are a good many, and some of them are proceeding with some degree of success, but there again it is a case of getting rid of old prejudices in favour of the system which has now been going on for the best part of three generations. One frequent cause of want of success which I have observed is that it is not the best boys who are put into these technical schools ; in nine cases out of ten it is the fool of the family, as the saying goes. If he is likely to go through the University course with success, then no kind of technical education is thought of ; but if it is realized at an early stage that he is not going to be a scholastic success, then he is sent to some special school. That is not the way in which schools succeed. There must be a different attitude, and that attitude is coming and will come in time, but not until the fetish of examination has to some extent been got rid of. (Hear, hear.)

I could enlarge much further on the subject, ladies and gentlemen, but as there are other people who wish to give you other points of view I must not take up further time.

COLONEL YATE said that the Chairman's speech had given him the most hopeful view of Indian education he had yet heard, and he hoped

that the steps that were being taken would have the success the Chairman looked for from them.

As to the lecture, the lecturer had told them of the evils of the English system of education, and he was of opinion that we had not only given all those evils to India, but had even accentuated them. He entirely agreed with what the lecturer had said on the subject of the lack of religious, moral, and practical education, and the urgent necessity for technical, commercial, and agricultural education, and also with his remarks regarding text-books and the harm done by the Text-Book Committees. All those connected with India well knew of the large proportion amongst the boys of what was commonly called in India "entrance fails," and he was rather amused to see that the lecturer had said that a considerable number of the editors of Indian vernacular newspapers were recruited from that class. They all hoped the new changes in the system would give Indian education a better chance in the future. As to the lack of moral and physical education in India which the lecturer had referred to, he thought that the last year or so had brought about a great change in the opinions of people here in this country as to the defects of our present system in the Board Schools in this respect. If he had referred to physical education in the Schools a couple of years ago, he would have been howled down as a Militarist; but lately nothing had brought home the shortcomings of our present system to the parents of our boys in England more than the enormous number of young men who failed to come up to the Army standard. The War had made a great change in the opinions of people in England, and they had begun to realize that physical education was just as important for their boys as mental education. He hoped the same change would take place in regard to India. He had been glad to notice that the lecturer had not advocated compulsory education in India. That was the last thing they wanted. Let them have elementary education as much as they liked, but not compulsory education.

In conclusion, he would like to say he hoped the Government of India would see in the future that the new system now being developed should have every possibility secured to it of working to a satisfactory conclusion. (Hear, hear.)

MR. SYUD HOSSAIN said the subject was an extremely large and complicated one; but he thought they would all carry away with them a vivid impression of the fact that the system of education in India left a great deal to be desired. He was, however, disposed to share the qualified optimism of the Chairman that at any rate there were some indications of betterment in Indian educational matters. He was also disposed to question whether the term "education" was at all applicable to what was really "a system of instruction" in India. He thought it would be a travesty to call such a system "education." It was patent to anyone who knew India that so far from bringing out the best characteristics and character of the students, the education given often hopelessly crippled them for life, so far as the use of their physical and mental endowments were concerned. To be really effective a system of education must be primarily a national system, whereas there were generations of young men

being trained in absolute ignorance of their own classics, and with only a smattering of English, so they could express themselves neither in their own language nor the language they were supposed to have learned. He had known cases of men of unusual powers who were hopelessly unable to discuss their own classics, in utter ignorance of which they had been educated. They were thus necessarily divorced from a great deal of that religious and moral inspiration which should have resulted from a right education.

These were some of the more widely observed incidents of the Indian educational policy as it was at present, but it was clear to all who were interested in the advancement of education in India that those circumstances were beginning to be realized. They would thus do well to realize that in India, with a centralized authority at the head, any scheme of education to be really effective must have the endorsement and the sanction of the State. Voluntary effort could do a great deal, but if they were to have a national system in India it must come from the Government in consultation with the leaders of public opinion in India.

DR. MILLER MAGUIRE said that as he had spent the greater part of his life dealing with English education, he should be the last person to speak on Indian education; but it so happened that he had been in contact with some of the best men England had given to help in the rule of India; and *they* all went through the system of becoming students of English and European general history, with a certain amount of logic and philosophy and a large amount of English literature, which was simply the development of the best thought of a modern people. He agreed with the lecturer when he said that the people of India should be taught the masterpieces of English literature. The German Emperor, in some of the few wise things he had said, had declared that a system of German education which preferred second-class Greek and Latin literature to the masterpieces of German literature was only fit for a pigsty! The masterpieces of the race were the proper things a person should begin to study once he could read and write, and the history and experience of the races with which he must contend were manifestly the first elements of instruction. Certainly to leave that out from Indian education was an insult to India. He knew many men who did their best to qualify themselves for the Indian Service in the schools of those "contemptible crammers" the lecturer had referred to, and of whom he was one! Many of those to whom he referred had been with him in his school.

Then again, education was not instruction at all. You could teach a man a certain thing definitely clearly in a year or two perhaps, but could that be called education?

THE LECTURER: I have now only to thank the various gentlemen who have taken part in the discussion, and to acknowledge their very kind remarks on the subject of my paper, for which I am extremely grateful.

MR. PENNINGTON proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and the lecturer; to the Chairman for the very admirable manner in which he had filled the chair, and to the lecturer for his thoughtful and original paper.

DR. POLLEN, in seconding the vote of thanks, said that Sir Arundel Arundel had been obliged to leave in order to catch a train, and was thus prevented from addressing the meeting. He had, however, left with him (Dr. Pollen) the following extract from Sir George Birdwood's "*Sva*" which dealt with one of the points raised by the lecturer in the course of his paper: "It is only of moral conviction, or, so to say, of religious inspiration, that I feel it incumbent upon us, that, being in India for our own advantage, we should also seek in every way, to the utmost of our power and as a consecrated service, to subserve her material and moral advantage. Misfortunately, whenever we have attempted to do so, we have too often done more evil than good—as in the destruction of the idiosyncratic handicraft arts of India by the teaching of our English Schools of Art; and worst of all in the undermining of the religious beliefs of the Hindus through the atheistical, indeed the antitheistical, influences of our system of public instruction in India. Should we proceed further with this Anglicizing programme, and, in our ignorance of the true character and aspirations of the Hindus, and meticulous subservience to home-bred proselytizing philanthropists, foist on India any instalments of self-government after the model of our indigenous methods of 'party government,' the end of all things will at once be at hand, alike for Muslims and Hindus of India, and for the United Kingdom as the tutelary of the Indian Empire.

"That would probably be to our own exceeding gain, but it would certainly be utter and irremediable ruin for India. The British administration of that country must at least for the next three or four generations (100 to 120 years) be loyally entrusted as heretofore to the ablest and fairest men at our command in the United Kingdom and in India, men at once sympathetic and level-headed, who would masterfully regulate every tentative taken by us to endow India with self-government; the consummation to which we all desire stage by stage, slowly and surely, '*Deo adjuvante*,' to upraise her."*

But whether they agreed with Sir George Birdwood or not, Dr. Pollen thought it was clear that the whole question of how to improve our educational system was at the present time engaging the earnest attention of the Indian Government, and he held in his hand a little pamphlet he had just received from India, from his friend Mr. S. H. Fremantle, C.I.E., with a Foreword by Sir James Meston, K.C.S.I. Sir James says at the conclusion of the Foreword: "In this pamphlet there is one passage which has my particular sympathy. It is towards the end, where the writer enlarges on what has yet to be done to advance our rural prosperity. Since the days when Sir Edward Buck first lighted the torch of agricultural reform, it has been carried on by a small band of enthusiasts. But it has never fired the popular imagination, and its flame has too often been dimmed by other and showier illuminations. Out of the beneficent gifts which have flowed from our public exchequer in its good years, if a tithe could have been spared for the development of agriculture and its kindred crafts, much would have been achieved which is now only an ideal. If these neglects

* "*Sva*," p. xviii, by Sir George Birdwood.

can be remedied by a keener interest in rural education, and by saner methods of imparting it, that argument alone will be conclusive in its favour. But it is only one of the many convincing arguments which Mr. Fremantle has brought out in his lucid and stimulating appeal."

And at p. 30 Mr. Fremantle touched the spot in insisting on the co-ordination of the school with the home: "What wants altering is the whole spirit of elementary education. Education and environment need to be brought into closer relation. The school, in fact, needs co-ordinating with the home, and the instruction in school with the occupation out of school. The growth of the child in the home and in the school cannot be separated, and it is not possible to further the growth of the complete child without bringing school life and home life into very much closer connection. In rural India perhaps 80 per cent. of the boys of school-going age are the sons of agriculturists, and all are more or less closely connected with agriculture. It follows that the school and the instruction given should be in close touch with agricultural conditions and agricultural needs. It has been shown how far distant our schools are from this ideal—how the teachers' training is purely literary, how the holidays only partly, and in some cases not at all, fit in with the times at which agricultural work is most pressing, and how there is no scientific instruction of any kind in the vernacular."

So far as he was concerned, Dr. Pollen had always believed that the home was not only the primal church but the primal school, all other education being merely supplementary. In seconding Mr. Pennington's proposal, he desired to express the thanks of the Association, and of all present, to the Chairman, for his kindness in presiding over the meeting, and for the very valuable information he had conveyed in his comments on the paper. They were also very much obliged to the lecturer for the spirited and entertaining manner in which he had dealt with some of the defects in our present systemless system, and for the care and thoroughness displayed in thinking out and suggesting reforms. The educational authorities appeared to have played strange pranks where the lecturer had studied. They seemed to have conducted lectures and held classes in a somewhat strange way, but, as a Bombay man, Dr. Pollen could testify that that was not the way they did things in Bombay. (Applause.) Indeed, Dr. Pollen thought Bombay was far ahead of other parts of India, both in the way the Professors mingled with their students and commanded the attention of their classes. He had been sitting beside one of the most eminent of Bombay's Professors (Dr. Macdonald) during the lecture, and Dr. Macdonald whispered to him (Dr. Pollen) that he had never heard of such a state of things as that described by the lecturer, in a Bombay classroom. (Applause.) Dr. Pollen put the vote of thanks to the meeting and it was carried unanimously. The Chairman having acknowledged the vote, the proceedings terminated.

THE LECTURER'S REPLY.

PANDIT SHYAMA writes : Owing to the lateness of the hour, I elected not to ask the audience to listen to my reply, but, had I spoken, I should have said that while Sir William Duke claims me for his province of Bengal, it is rather dramatic that Colonel Yate recognizes in me ("in immaculate frockcoat") a schoolmaster of Udaipur, where he was the Resident fifteen years ago. I should remind Colonel Yate of the favour he did me by forwarding an English poem of mine to Her late Imperial Majesty Queen Victoria of sacred memory.

Punjab also claims me, as I am a graduate of the Punjab University. The U. P. claim me, for I have spent in it the best part of my life (eight years) as a student of both the Queen's and the Sanskrit Colleges, and as one of the first Professors of the Central Hindu College at Benares ; and then as a secretary to Bharat Dharma Mahamandal at Muttra.

I spent about a year in the Bombay Presidency as an ascetic, one year in Hyderabad, and many months at Pondichery.

During all this period much of my time was devoted to private teaching and studying the mind of our rising generation, so that I can speak with a certain amount of authority, and can assure Sir William Duke that the *prejudice* he speaks of clings more to the older type of an educated Indian. A great majority of our youths are eager to avail themselves of technical education in order to earn an independent living. The vainglorious possession of a University degree has, no doubt, still its charm. But I am confident that, if some distinction or title be attached to higher proficiency in technical knowledge, it—being supported by a superior commercial value—is sure to eclipse the glory of a degree in liberal education, in the course of time. The disappointment of an average modern B.A. in obtaining the much-coveted Government post has already diminished the value of the degree in the eyes of our younger generation ; and if an Agricultural or Technical B.Sc. can get a post as teacher to a school as easily as a B.A. secures a teachership nowadays, I do not see why there should not be a demand for agricultural and technical education.

My scheme of attaching an agricultural or technical class to every school will go a great length to creating the demand. The difficulty in our way is the question of funds. But we should remember that this class can always be made to pay, and the money laid out, reproductive.

I had a talk with Mr. Fremantle, when he was here on furlough, on the question of spreading agricultural education. He seems to share our worthy President's views, that there is not a great demand for it. I should point out to all our administrative officers who hold the view, that no institution in India or in any country has been welcomed by the masses, when first started. The Medical College of Calcutta, for instance, when first started, was avoided like the plague ; but now it is overcrowded, and has to refuse applications for admission.

As regards the remark that the dull boys of a family are spared for technical education, I beg leave to refer to a saying, common in Bengal only twenty years ago, "If my boy cannot learn anything, he will become

a Dārogā (Inspector or Sub-Inspector of Police).” We now see that the best graduates of Bengal compete for Inspectorship of Police, and also for Sub-Inspectorship.

I am aware of the agricultural and technical schools up and down our country, but let me submit that they are like drops in the ocean when compared with the vast demand of the whole country.

In fine, I request those educational experts of our country who are in favour of a radical change in Indian education, as outlined in the scheme submitted by me, to correspond, either with Dr. John Pollen or with myself (address—Jhalapatan, Rajputana), with a view to make an organized effort.

P.S.—The omission of a reference to the Government scheme of creating a Teaching University at Dacca, and to the regulations of the Allahabad University about *school-leaving* courses and certificates, may carry the impression that I am not cognizant of them. Far from it. Want of space compelled me to dispose of the whole question, by saying, “The Government have already inaugurated some reforms. But they are not adequate.” I honestly think that they are not adequate to meet the demand for a radical reform, calculated to uproot the evils complained of. Want of space also constrained me not to mention the measures of some of the States (Kashmir, Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior, Jaipur, etc.) to promote technical education, as well as the private enterprises in the direction of reforming education (*e.g.*, of Sir Ravindra Nath Tagore, Rājā of Bhinga, Rājā Mahendra Singh of Brindaban, aided by R. B. J. N. Chakravarti, and Sardār Jogindrasingh, and many others; I might also mention the National Council of Education of Calcutta.

IF YOU CALL ME

If you call me, I will come
Swifter, O my Love,
Than a panting forest-deer,
Or a trembling dove !
Swifter than the snake that flies
To the charmer's thrall,
If you call me, I will come,
Fearless what befall !

If you call me, I will come
Swifter than desire,
Swifter than the lightning's feet
Shod with plumes of fire !
Life's dark tides may roll between,
Or Death's deep chasms divide,
If you call me, I will come,
Fearless what betide !

SAROJINI NAIDU.

HYDERABAD, DECCAN.

EXHIBITIONS IN LONDON

THE ART OF JAPAN

THE LOAN EXHIBITION OF JAPANESE WORKS AND HANDICRAFT IN AID OF THE FUNDS OF THE RED CROSS SOCIETY AND THE ORDER OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM AT 127, NEW BOND STREET. — This is an exhibition full of interest and artistic enjoyment for the student of Eastern Art. Guided by Mr. Joly's admirable catalogue, the visitor is enabled to contemplate at his leisure the various and manifold objects that await his inspection. Metal and especially lacquer-work are shown in great profusion. Among the last-named we notice in a vitrine on the ground-floor an exquisite little cabinet containing seven drawers; the drawers are decorated with a peacock hovering over a clump of azalea. It is an exhibit lent by Queen Mary, and given to her by the late Emperor of Japan. Near it is an oblong box, deep Bunko shape, with delicate inlaid mother-of-pearl flowers, a gift from Prince Sadanaru Fushimi.

Looking round, we perceive a great variety of lacquer-work. Pottery, enamels, and innumerable examples of sword-fittings, armour, bronze, metal-work of different periods. It has been asserted on good authority that almost every kind of metal ornamentation known in Europe was to a great extent practised in Japan before the country was opened to foreign commerce, and it has been, moreover, admitted that in at least some directions of metal-work the Japanese have attained a perfection that has hardly been equalled elsewhere. It was evidently feudalism which, reigning supreme in Japan from 1000-1400, gave this work a great stimulus. Most of these objects, one always differing from the other, each impressed with the individuality of the artist, and generally signed by him, show that this branch of the fine arts was carried on for the benefit of the warrior cast. On the other hand, it must be owned that in this respect Corea, no less than China, rendered great artistic services to Japan.

One of the most noteworthy objects among the military metals here is Lady Macdonald's exhibit (No. I, p. 77)—the sword given to the late Sir Claude Macdonald by Prince Katsura. Mr. H. L. Joly exhibits a fine "tsuba" (guard of the sword), with a splendidly worked pheasant under a plum-tree, dating from the sixteenth to seventeenth century. These

"tsubas," together with the kosukas (the small knife carried on the side of the scabbard), are regarded as the most important possessions of a Japanese. Particular attention ought to be drawn to nine "tsubas" exhibited by His Excellency the Japanese Ambassador. They are all signed by different artists, and of exquisite workmanship. To the same exhibitor belongs a silver flower-vase of plain metal, with Imperial Chrysanthemum crest in gold, which is an Imperial gift signed Shiye-mitsu.

Not less interesting than the metal-work is the lacquer-work in this exhibition, especially the *inro* (seal and medicine boxes), most of them supplied with quite fascinating netsuke. Lacquer-work has always been a native industry developed and perfected by the Japanese. If they are indebted to China for carved lacquer, the Chinese, on the other hand, were indebted to Japan for the preparation of gold-washed lacquer. The name most familiar to us among the Japanese lacquerers is that of Koyetsu (1558-1637), of whom authenticated specimens can still be found. The Suzuri-Bako (writing-box), No. 2, is evidently of his school, as also the very fine black-lacquer box in pewter and mother-of-pearl (No. 36, p. 40). Most noteworthy is the box signed *Ritsuo* (No. 37), an artist not only known for his efficient lacquer-work, but also for his paintings.

Among the 255 *inros* (many of them dating early seventeenth century), we would like to point out the pouch-shaped one with gold-washed lacquer design on black ground, which has, according to the catalogue, a historical tradition (No. 1, p. 51). Another *inro*, perhaps one of the finest, is No. 6 (p. 52), on black ground, inlaid with a design of chrysanthemums in bloom. It is in the style of the lacquerer Chobei; an ivory carved netsuke with an amber ojime is attached to it.

These *inros*, which came into fashion about four centuries ago, bear as often as not the signature of their craftsmen. It is an advantage they have over the large pieces of lacquer-work. By bringing those together, where a family name is given, such as Ritsuo, Kajikawa, Koma, or Shunshō, some historical arrangement as to their provenance might be attempted. Fine lacquer-work of the latter part of the nineteenth century is chiefly identified with Zeshin, the last of the Koma school. But since the appearance of lacquer-work on European markets, the effect of too rapid production has become painfully evident on modern work. There is, however, hardly any falling off to be noticed in the quality until well into the nineteenth century, and more especially as regards small pieces, as we can notice in this exhibition.

POTTERY AND ENAMELS.

Among the pottery, the two prehistoric jars from Hakateyama, originally in the Bowes collection (Nos. 1, 2, p. 71), are specially noteworthy, as also the white-glazed tea-bowl (No. 13, p. 71) with dark grey scroll-work from Kyoto by Yeiraku, whom Gonse calls "le plus étonnant des pasticheurs."

Among the enamels exhibited, there is a small globular vase with an apple-green ground, and a running green design of flowers of the four

seasons in their natural colours, signed Namikawa of Kyoto—an exquisite piece of workmanship (No. 76, p. 76). We find the same signature on several other vases—*e.g.*, on the beautiful bowl of dark blue enamel (No. 74, p. 76) and on two trays in the same case.

Highly appreciated in the land of their origin, more so than porcelain, which came into use much later, are the simple-looking old wares from the early thirteenth century onwards, of which there are some fine examples in this exhibition, foremost among them the cup from the Holme collection (No. 14, p. 71).

The introduction of the use of tea gave the first stimulus to the production of somewhat finer ware; but owing to the influence of the Zen sect, the tradition of the simple ware was jealously kept up. Teacups became more ornamented and larger in the sixteenth century. There are many examples of tea-bowls of these later times in this exhibition which deserve unstinted praise.

Among the carvings there is a standing figure of the Goddess of Mercy in red lacquered in gold, now much rubbed and showing the red foundation, which is considered of great importance (No. 3, p. 26). More attractive, however, is the goddess (No. 1) in the teaching mudra of the Kōnin period. Noteworthy, too, is the head of a man supposed to be a young temple attendant, perhaps a portrait. Very imposing is the standing figure signed Choūn (No. 19, p. 27), showing Daruma returning home to India some years after his death. He is represented as travelling with one sandal only, held in the left hand, the other one having been left in the grave.

There is a great variety of Kakemonos on silk, some on paper, signed by well-known names, such as Kano-Motonobu, an artist of the fifteenth century, who, with a few strokes of the brush, succeeded, as in this composition (No. 10, p. 9), to represent most successfully the subject he chose. Another Kakemono (on paper) is likewise by him—a spirited dancing-girl holding a fan (No. 26, p. 11). The masterful representation of a tiger, slaking its thirst at a stream, signed Ganku, is quite on the level with the famous tigers that came from the brush of Kano-Tanyu and Mokkē. A set of three Kakemonos—representing (1) a villa hidden in a wood, (2) a part of a bridge in a landscape, (3) a lake—are by Hōyēn, who is well known not only for his landscape, but also for his religious paintings. Typically Japanese is a Kakemono by Chōki in black and white, representing two squirrels gnawing a melon (No. 57, p. 13). Another drawing in black and white is an early sixteenth-century work, representing two geese, a white one and a black one, the feet painted in red, surrounded with blue flowers and reeds.

The prints, mostly dating from the eighteenth century, are over 150 in number. Haronobu, the founder of the Japanese colour-prints, is represented by exhibits of fine colour and state of preservation, and others—*e.g.*, Utamarō (active 1754-1806) is seen to his advantage in his favourite subject, the Japanese women, whom he knew how to depict without any pretence of giving resemblance or character, but rather as so many flowers fitting into his compositions—a mere piece of colouring in which their rich

silk and brocaded garments gave the full effect. Most attractive are his terraces and bridges with these reclining and reposing women, all of them of extraordinary height—just the opposite to what they seem to us in real life !

The popular and prolific Hokusei, who has been admittedly somewhat influenced by Western art and its realistic tendencies, is very well represented here. His views of the snow-capped mountain of Fusyan, majestically towering high against a blue sky, are repeatedly to be found in this exhibition. His types of men and women can be encountered in Japan at every step, from the rain-coated, mushroom-hatted man, to the patient Japanese mothers carrying their fat and bald-headed babies on their backs. He is, however, best in his landscapes. But Hiroshigé (1796-1858) is considered to be the best landscape-painter that Japan ever produced. His "Night-Rain" at the Uzuma shrine (No. 132, p. 24) recalls his famous composition of a "Rain-Storm." Remarkable are the three prints signed Shunshō (the master of Hosukai), with the portraits of actors ; among them, that of the well-known Hosoyé (No. 55, p. 18). We must still refer to Yeizan, one of that class of artists which, like Utamaro, devoted themselves almost entirely to depicting the charms and graces of Japanese womanhood—those clinging, fragile creatures, with the old linear measurements not unlike the unwinged angels we see on Boecklin's imaginary landscapes—*e.g.*, "The Elysian Fields." A good example of Yeizan's style is No. 147, p. 25—a Geisha, with her maid holding an umbrella over her, in a shower. In contemplating these interesting prints, which in many cases go back to a greater art of a past period, the assertion which has been put forward by several art critics has our concurrence—namely, that the art of the East, and especially the Japanese landscapes, have not been without influence on our modern artists, more especially the Impressionists.

For reasons of space we have to bring to a conclusion the description of so highly interesting a subject as is afforded by this Exhibition. Before doing so, a word of thanks is due to all the exhibitors, over seventy in number, who have so generously lent their art treasures for the benefit of the public, and at the same time to help a good cause.

We understand that Messrs. Yamanaka will issue, towards the end of the year, a large work by Messrs. H. L. Joly and K. Tomita, describing and very fully illustrating the exhibits.

L. M. R.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME, BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

THE Memorial on the subject of the Education of Indian Girls was presented to the Secretary of State for India at the India Office, on October 12. The members of the deputation were: Mrs. Fawcett, Sir Krishna Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir John Jardine, K.C.I.E., M.P., Lady Muir Mackenzie, Lady Emily Lutyens, Lady Cecilia Roberts, Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mrs. E. Agnes R. Haigh, and Mr. A. Yusuf Ali (Honorary Secretary).

Mr. Austen Chamberlain was accompanied by Sir T. Morison, K.C.I.E., Mr. Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., and Sirdar Daljit Singh (Members of the Council); Sir Thomas Holderness, K.C.B., K.C.S.I. (Permanent Under Secretary); Mr. M. C. C. Seton, C.B. (Secretary to the Judicial and Public Department); and Dr. F. Heath, C.B., chairman, and Miss Lawrence (Board of Education), member of the Secretary of State's Committee of Selection for Educational Appointments in India.

In introducing the deputation, Mrs. FAWCETT pointed out that more than sixty years ago the East India Company declared in a Memorial that: "The education of girls gives a far greater proportional impulse to the moral and social tone of the whole population than the education of men, and that though progress had been made since 1884, the proportion of boys and girls receiving education in Government schools in India was 5 to 1, and the money spent on each sex shows a still greater disparity, being 9 to 1. In British India less than 4,000 women and girls out of every million of the population were being educated, or less than 4 per 1,000, and considerably under $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. were in Government schools. In several of the Feudatory States the proportion was much higher; in Baroda it was nine times as high." She maintained that caution was necessary in dealing with the question, but that caution without courage degenerated into timidity.

Sir Krishna Gupta, who is Chairman of the Committee which prepared the Memorial, said that it was fatal to the cause of national progress and advancement that the education of one half of the population should proceed while the other remained absolutely ignorant. Educated men must have

educated wives. It was the desire of the Government of India and the people of India to improve the education of women and girls, and the desire of the memorialists was the appointment of a committee of inquiry, consisting of men and women, to collect and report on the facts and special needs of the different parts of India.

Sir William Wedderburn pointed out that the memorable dispatch of Sir Charles Wood, in 1854, which created Universities in India, and extended the boon of higher education, had in it an element of heroism, for it was in the throes of the Mutiny that the foundations of the Universities of Calcutta and Bombay were well and truly laid.

Lady Muir Mackenzie laid stress on the benefit which would accrue to all India if women were educated in modern methods of sanitation ; she urged that Indian women should be encouraged to become doctors and nurses ; out of 150,000,000 women in India, not more than 3,000,000 came within reach of medical aid. She declared that the women of India were courageous enough to meet and overcome any difficulties to obtain education. Mrs. N. C. Sen said that it would be a help to the Government as well as to the people if women were educated and medical colleges for women established. Sir John Jardine maintained that the present was a good time to move ; there was confidence and warm feeling everywhere, and changes of a beneficial character might be introduced into many humble homes in India. Mr. A. Yusuf Ali gave facts to prove that the demand came from the people themselves, and said that unless something were done to push forward the education of girls at a time when new ideas were being adopted for the education of boys, the result would be social disaster.

The Secretary of State begged his hearers to believe that he was not unsympathetic ; indeed, he would forward the Memorial to the Government of India, but—after a short study of Indian questions—his opinion was that it was not the time nor the place to undertake so great and costly a project. There must be caution, always caution ; the education of women was a modern growth ; it was not even satisfactory in this country ; many problems remained to be solved ; how, then, solve problems in India by transferring an experimental system from West to East ? There must be a spontaneous movement from India, not from England, and not from the Government. He was not disposed to appoint a commission of inquiry. The one great need was better trained and better paid women teachers. He was not unsympathetic towards Indians who felt that the future of their country depended largely on the progress of women's education, but when the Empire was at stake the moment was not opportune for a calm and careful study of a vast problem.

Among the many signatories to the Memorial are : H.H. the Aga Khan, Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mrs. C. A. Latif, Mrs. Abbas Ali Baig, Mrs. S. A. Bhisey, Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, Dr. J. N. Mehta, Lady Cecilia Roberts, Lady Jenkins, Mrs. P. L. Roy, Mrs. Olive Schreiner, Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, Mrs. S. A. Barnett, Sir Oliver Lodge, Dr. Estlin Carpenter, The Dean of Manchester, Prof. Patrick Geddes, the Master of Pembroke

College, the Warden of Keble, and the Principal of Mansfield, Oxford, Sir George Birdwood, Mrs. Fox Strangways, Mrs. Blair, Miss S. A. Bonnerjee, Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. Arthur Symonds, Mr. Harold Spender, Dr. John Pollen, Sir Edward Russell, Mr. C. P. Scott, Mr. Graham Wallas, Miss Margaret Ashton, Mrs. P. Villiers-Stuart.

A Gokhale Scholarship for Women is the form in which many of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale's friends in this country wish to enshrine his memory. Sir Krishna Gupta and Sir William Wedderburn, who have issued an appeal, say: "The education of his people was the special object of his life, and, above all, the education of women; for in the qualities of Indian womanhood—in the power of well-directed sacrifice and service—lies the assured hope of national regeneration. Pressed though we may be in this war time by many claims, cannot we, when India is standing so bravely by our side, spare a little to record our love and admiration for one of the noblest of her sons? Looking to the special conditions of Indian home life, authorities on education are agreed that the particular need for the education of girls in India is the supply of trained Indian women teachers; and it is now proposed that, in memory of Mr. Gokhale, a scholarship of £100 per annum for three years should be established, to assist a suitable candidate in coming to England, with a view to receiving the best training obtainable. In order permanently to endow such a scholarship, and with a view to the scheme being put into operation at an early date, a life-long friend of Mr. Gokhale offers to make in her will a bequest of £2,000 (estimated to produce £100 per annum), provided that other friends will, by donations, find the £300 required for the income of the scholarship during the next three years." Pending arrangements for the custody of the proposed fund, Sir W. Wedderburn (Meredith, Gloucester) has been asked to open a "Gokhale Scholarship" account, to which donations will be paid. A good response has already been made, but the greater the help the greater the possibilities.

There was an All-India gathering at 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, to commemorate the anniversary of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy. The invitations were sent out in the name of the President (Sir Krishna Gupta) and the members of the London Brahmo Samaj, and the spirit of the remarkable meeting was the honouring of a great Indian by his fellow-countrymen, irrespective of creed, and by many British friends. Sir Krishna gave an admirable sketch of the life and character of Rammohun Roy, and told how as a young man he wrote a treatise against idolatry and superstition—an early indication of his reforming zeal and his desire to free his countrymen from spiritual slavery. He had an open mind, and took pains to understand other religions. He studied Sanskrit at Benares, Arabic at Patna, and when his interest was aroused in Christianity he acquired a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek in order to read the Bible in the original, as he had done the Koran and the sacred writings of

his own people. His book, entitled "The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness," brought him into conflict with Christian missionaries and with Hindus. He still continued his reforming work, and gathered round him at his house in Calcutta intelligent Hindus; eventually the Brahmo Samaj was founded, to carry on the worship of God on a theistic basis as conceived in the Upanishads, and the first Prayer-hall was opened in Calcutta in 1830. This was the crowning point in his life, "the fruit of years of toil, devotion and singleness of purpose, undeterred by suffering, disappointment, and relentless persecution." He was also a social reformer and rendered great service to Lord William Bentinck in the suppression of Sati, and was a strong advocate of the spread of education. Raja Rammohun Roy was the first educated Indian to make the long voyage to England via the Cape of Good Hope, and received a warm welcome in this country. He gave evidence before a committee of the House of Commons, dealing with Indian affairs, and showed a broad grasp of the political situation. He died in England, and was buried in Arno Vale Cemetery, Bristol; some years later a mausoleum was erected in his memory by Dwarkanath Tagore, grandfather of Sir Rabindranath. Tributes to his memory were paid by Mr. G. R. S. Mead, Dr. Walsh, of the Theistic Church, and Mr. A. Yusuf Ali. Mr. Mead regarded him as one of the world's great men, and a pioneer in the study of comparative religion. There must be a coming together if the true culture of the world is to become really catholic. Mr. Yusuf Ali said that the title "Raja" was given to Rammohun Roy by an Emperor of Delhi, and that Moslems charged him with the duty of representing them in Europe. Dr. Walsh pointed out the unhappy position for a man of his wide sympathies in finding himself assailed on both sides—by Christians and by Hindus—but his great study was faith, not creed; religion, not theology.

The Masur Rock temples and other Hindu temples of the Kangra Hills, Punjab, were brought before an interested audience at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society by means of photographic lantern slides by Mr. H. Lee Shuttleworth, who commented on them from the architectural and historical point of view. With regard to the age of the Masur temple, Mr. Shuttleworth said that the people assigned its construction to the epic heroes, the Pandavas. Mr. Vincent Smith puts it not later than the seventh century; it was built after Buddhism had almost died out in the district. The sculpture of Krishna on one of the lintels is interesting as affording the earliest evidence of his worship in Kangra, if Dr. Vogel's reading of an inscription be correct.

Pundit Shyam Shankar made an earnest appeal for a better knowledge of India—historic, economic, literary, political, classical, religious, and personal—on the part of Britons in his lecture at University College, London, on October 19. India and England are necessary to each other, he said, and therefore mutual knowledge is imperative. He stated that the English school curriculum takes no notice of India and its history, and

urged drastic changes in this respect ; he also suggested an Indian Branch for the Matriculation examination, to be extended for the B.A. examination, and to include a knowledge of Nagri, Persian, Tamil and Sanskrit alphabet and vocabularies ; translations from the classical works of Hindus and Moslems ; Indian traditional history ; a religious and social survey of India ; and that Hindustani should be an optional language for Greek or Latin or one of the modern languages. He wants an interest in India awakened in schoolboys, and that they should extend their knowledge at the Universities. He said that the head masters of Eton, Harrow, and Rugby agreed with him, but that there was difficulty in inducing the Governing Bodies to appoint teachers, and the Universities to accept Hindustani as a substitute for one of the compulsory languages. India, with its great history, traditions, literature, and millions of people, is a living and vital part of the British Empire, and a knowledge of it should be as much or more a part of a boy's education as the history of Greece and Rome and a knowledge of Greek and Latin.

Through the courteous hospitality of Lord and Lady Glenconner, the "At Home" of the Hospitality Committee on October 28, was held at 34, Queen Anne's Gate ; many Indian students and British friends were present. In addition to the interest of the speeches, was the pleasure of seeing the famous collection of pictures by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney, and Constable. Lord Haldane, President of the Committee, laid stress on the significance of the gathering ; though of different nationalities, the guests were deeply attached to one great cause and passionately united in a great struggle for freedom. India was deeply concerned, for though British rule has its defects it is separated by an enormous gulf from the rule which would be established were Germany to prevail and her movement eastward to succeed. The war, he said, in spite of its suffering and sorrow, cannot terminate without some good, and in the working out of great purposes in the future India would take her part. The admirable lecture given by Dr. Burrows, Principal of King's College, London, dealt with the peoples and problems of the Balkan Peninsula. The characteristics and history of the Greeks, Slavs, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Serbians, and Macedonians were vividly described, and the events which have led to the situation to-day. The policy of the Entente Powers was not to play off one State against another and give the lands of one to the other in turn as Germany did ; they stood, he declared, for union, and any temporary failure was due to their virtues, not to their vices.

The lecture by Mr. H. Charles Woods on "The Dardanelles Campaign" attracted a large audience to the last meeting of the Central Asian Society, and his excellent lantern slides added special interest to his remarks. He showed the serious difficulties that have to be overcome upon sea and land, and said that consequently conditions are more favourable to those in occupation of the shores. In the confined area ships lose a large part of

their power to manoeuvre, and short-ranged guns on shore in enemy hands gain considerably in usefulness. Mr. Woods considered that a mistake had been made in sending the fleet to bombard the Dardanelles before an adequate landing force was available. Sir Thomas Holdich, from the chair, Sir Edwin Pears, Colonel C. E. Yate, and Colonel A. C. Yate, and others, took part in the subsequent discussion.

Lady Sydenham, presiding at a meeting at 21, Cromwell Road, of the Women's Indian Study Association, in connection with the Conference of the National Union of Women Workers, explained that the Association existed to spread among Englishwomen a better knowledge of their Indian sisters; many of them went to India as wives of civilians or military men without having given a thought to life in the East. Interesting speeches were made by Dr. Winifred Bartholomew on her experiences in Nagpur, Madras, and elsewhere in India as a doctor, and by Miss Edith Gedge on the work of a University Women's Settlement in Bombay. A full report of the meeting of may be obtained from Mr. Elliott Stock, Paternoster Row, London. Price 2d.

At the recent National Conference in London of the Brotherhood Movement, international greetings were conveyed by representatives of other countries. Mr. Naoshi Kato spoke for Japan and declared that the Movement, important in the past, would become ten times more important after the war, which, he maintained, was producing a genuine awakening of religious enthusiasm. M. Daniel Goroetzky, of Petrograd, brought greetings from Russia, and said that the Brotherhood and Sisterhood Movements would open up a new way of concord between different nationalities. In Russia, he added, the phrase "Let us be brothers," means that a man will share with his brother all he has, and even give his life for him.

RUSSIA.

"The Inner Light of Russia" was the subject of Mademoiselle Zenaida Vengerova's lecture to the Russian Circle, Lyceum Club, on October 14. Though Russia is always regarded as autocratic, the spirit of the nation is democratic; the best Russian is spoken by the peasantry, and is full of colour and devoid of bad grammar; it was a liberal education in acquiring correctness of diction to talk to Russian droshky men. The prohibition of the vodka had done much to bring to the surface the fine qualities of the Russian peasantry. In December the Russian Circle will join the Debating Society of the Club in a debate on the statement that "The novels of Tolstoi give a truer impression of Russian character than do the works of Dostoievsky."

Speaking on "Popular Russia" at last month's meeting of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society, Miss Alice Birkhead, a writer who includes Russia in her survey, showed how a better and much to be desired under-

standing of Russia is gradually growing up in this country ; old ideas are giving way before clearer knowledge ; Russia's power to create in music and in art has been recognized, and the war is bringing about a notable readjustment of ideas with regard to many things, including the Russian soldier. The consolidation of Anglo-Russian friendship, she added, is equally important to British trade as to Slav development.

Dr. Pollen spoke on "The Russian Soldier" at the November meeting of the Society, and showed how formidable he was when standing at bay in defence of "Holy Russia" and his "Little Father. Referring to Napoleon's advance to Moscow, he pointed out that within five months from the battle of Borodino, there was not a single armed French foe left in the vast confines of the Russian Empire. He hoped history would repeat itself. Dr. Pollen referred to his forecast of years ago that the Kaiser's ambitious policy was to establish a new Germano-Roman Empire from the shores of Belgium and Holland through Berlin, Vienna, and Constantinople to the Persian Gulf, and, by becoming supreme in Mesopotamia, he hoped to dominate Egypt, paralyse Russia, shake the power of Britain in India and humiliate the British Empire to the dust. If the Euphrates Valley be the real objective, Dr. Pollen considered that British policy should be to use Cyprus as a base, as Disraeli intended, advance through Asia Minor, join hands with Russia, hold the Euphrates Valley, and, backed up by troops from India and Japan, fight the great fight for justice and right on the plains of Asia.

Mr. Foster Fraser, who has recently returned to this country from Russia, lectured to the Russia Society on October 15, and pointed out the remarkable, industrial, physical and moral benefit of compulsory teetotalism. Manufacturers said that the efficiency of the workers had increased considerably ; there was a growing public consciousness among the Russian people that they must get rid of the corruption which had been too often found in public life. Sir Frederick Pollock presided at the meeting and Sir Edward Grey sent a letter expressing his good wishes to the Society.

On November 4, Mr. Stephen Graham began his series of lectures on Russia at the London University, South Kensington, and laid stress on the strength of the national feeling. Painters, for instance, well known throughout the world, would only paint Russia and Russian life. There was no great love of order or discipline in the country ; an Englishman, seeing Russian troops on the march, would think them very disorderly ; they did not keep step, and women would march in the ranks carrying bundles for their husbands or sons ; but the spirit of the army was magnificent. Mr. Graham's lectures (on Thursdays at 3.15 p.m.) will deal with "The Significance of Orthodoxy," "Tolstoy and his Teaching," and "The Modern Movement in Russia."

A. A. S.

SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

STUDIES IN LITERATURE AND HISTORY. By the late Sir Alfred Lyall.
(*John Murray.*)

Criticism of criticism is never a very liberal occupation, especially when the critic whose writings are under review is of such established repute as was the late Sir Alfred Lyall. The volume of his essays recently published by Mr. Murray is a selection of the articles contributed by him to various reviews since 1894, up to which date his articles had been previously included in his "Asiatic Studies."

Most of the essays bearing directly upon Indian matters have—so the preface tells us—been omitted in accordance with the instructions of their author, who regarded them as of insufficient permanent value for republication; but readers of the "Asiatic Studies" will recognize that many of the essays in the present volume follow out lines of thought suggested in the earlier work, or apply in a larger sphere the results of observation made when Sir Alfred Lyall was studying Indian myths and Indian religions in Berar, or the "rare and antique stratification of society in Rajputana." The two essays, "Race and Religion" and "The State in its Relation to Eastern and Western Religions," are those which illustrate more particularly the continuity of Sir Alfred Lyall's thought in this direction.

Articles of a more literary character make up the larger portion of the book, and bring us once again in contact with that rare mixture of extensive knowledge, fine imagination, and exceptional power of literary expression which all who knew the deceased scholar and statesman were accustomed to look for and to find in his work.

A DEFENCE OF ARISTOCRACY. By Anthony M. Ludovici. (*Constable and Co.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The problem of government has rarely been attacked with such ardour as by Mr. Ludovici in his latest book, "A Defence of Aristocracy." If

everyone were as dominated as he is by the idea that to rule wisely or to be wisely ruled is the sole aim of human endeavour, it would not matter very much, we venture to think, what form the ruling took. Where rulers and people are "led, guided, and inspired by one general idea which animates all their hopes and plans, colours all their deeds and endeavours, and kindles all their passions and desires," where they are "governed by the same inviolable values that permeate all their loves and hates, all their virtues and vices, and all their domestic and public manners," there the difference between the aristocratic and the democratic conceptions would merely be a difference in executive and not in aim.

But—and Mr. Ludovici's indictment of most hitherto existing aristocracies and all democracies shows this pretty plainly—neither among rulers or ruled has, so far, this idea concerning government been the all-absorbing one. It has been, and so long as human nature remains as it is we think it will continue to be, sometimes ignored by, more often obliged to walk alongside of, other disrespectful but not less vital companions, one of which unruly mob has been man's natural disposition (we will spare Mr. Ludovici's feelings, and not call it "natural right") to act, so far as his natural power permits, in his own interest. To govern and to be governed—these ambitions have never occupied human minds exclusively from birth until death, and government has had to hold out certain motives to individuals to agree in exercising these natural dispositions in a certain way before mankind took kindly to government. Even in these days when, as Mr. Ludovici reminds us, "to be young and to be indifferent can be no longer synonymous," it is no improbable supposition that some of the best people, what though they possessed all the qualities which we are told indicate flourishing life, might protest against the ordinance that they should rule; they might even go so far as to call Mr. Ludovici a Puritan for offering them such a straight and sunless career. Other interests than the governmental one, and some not less important, though many much more selfish, beckon and demand allegiance, and the world's history affords, we think, clearer evidence of the inevitability of such intrusions upon the sphere of government than of the success or failure of any particular principle.

A pure principle can, of course, always claim that its purity and truth have been unsullied by the failure of the many attempts to realize it, and in this respect we must in fairness accord the same indulgence to the principle of democracy as to the principle of aristocracy. But government, being essentially a practical business, is apt to be guided more by experience than by the titles of pure principles. No principle of government can, at this stage of the world's history, expect obedience on account of its abstract value alone; each principle must in a sense bear the burden of its various applications, however partial, and face the shadows thrown by these across its path. Mr. Ludovici has submitted enough evidence of the failure of such aristocratic government as England has been endowed with to make the average thoughtful citizen, whose opinion, despite Mr. Ludovici's scorn of it, does *to himself* matter (which happens to be the kind of mattering, as things are constituted, that matters!), a little doubtful of the precedents of the pure principle of aristocracy and a little more disinclined, perhaps, than

he is by nature to look upon anyone or any group of his fellow-creatures as an infallible Providence. For, in spite of the Incas of Peru, the ancient Egyptians, the Manchu aristocracy, and the other illustrations adduced of successful aristocratic government, in spite even of Charles I. and the democratic and Puritanic excesses consequent upon that discreditable chapter in English history, the general lesson of historical experience is that power in the hands of one person, or of a few persons, over the destinies of many tends to tyranny—a tyranny as disastrous to the tyrant as it is to his victims. That is the real argument for democracy, the aim of whose pure principle embraces just as much concern for the preservation of its worthiest members as for the rescue of its least worthy. Distribution of power is what democracy aims at, and though the machinery of checks and balances which has so far been devised still permits of the abuse of power by all classes concerned in government, the evil lies, we think, not so much in the inadequacy of the machinery as in the false conceptions everywhere prevalent prompting the aspirations of mankind. This is Mr. Ludovici's own premise, and very powerfully indeed does he urge it, though in his indictment we are conscious of more bitterness and less equanimity than would mark, we suggest, the bearing of the pure aristocrat. That Olympian being, as assumed in the pure principle asseverating his divine kingship, feels no more bitterness towards, than sympathy with, the frailties of what the author of "The Patriot King" described as "the silly world": his judgment is unimpassioned and his object is to understand the causes of silliness rather than to abuse and ridicule it. To attack angrily would be a renouncement of his aristocratic birthright, and this the pure aristocrat is as incapable as he is undesirous of doing. Further than this premise, which few who are really moved by the spectacle of civilization's present appalling indifference to suicide will, we think, attempt to deny, we cannot confidently go. Our scepticism of pretensions to divine right, whether in things temporal or in things eternal, bars the way, as well as our persuasion that in practical matters power is always limited by the capacities of the thing acted upon as well as by the faculties of the agent, and that the extent of submission presumed by the pure principle of aristocracy is contrary to human nature.

Into Mr. Ludovici's contention that physical beauty is the concomitant of the aristocratic nature we have not the requisite biological and sociological knowledge to go, but we should think that the modern æsthetic standpoint, regarding beauty less as a specific quality than consisting of a relationship between perceiver and perceived, would make the business of its recognition by no means an easy task even for aristocrats, and that occupation, with its infinite variety—to say nothing of preoccupation, with its possession—might even seriously hinder the work of government.

We have, moreover, a further doubt concerning the origin of that infallible "taste" with which the aristocrat is endowed. Taste to us appears, as indeed it appears to Mr. Ludovici, no less an historical, sociological product than any other habit, attitude, or manner of the individual; but in its evolution we think that a large part has been played by the contrary bad taste, bad habits, and bad manners of the majority of human beings so

utterly offensive to Mr. Ludovici. We doubt if, without the constant pressure implied in the act of preference, the isolated dictates of mere *rules*—for such any régime that is presumed to issue from the immune aristocratic soul itself must be—would be sufficient for its continued vigorous existence.

I. C. W.

INDIA

THE FATAL GARLAND. By Mrs. Ghosal (*née* Sormati Svärna Kumari Devi). (London: T. Werner Laurie, Ltd.)

India, and, in particular, Bengal, might well be proud of so brilliant a writer as Mrs. Ghosal, the talented sister of Rabindra-Nath-Tagore, the poet, to whom the Nobel Prize has recently been awarded. In her first novel, "The Unfinished Song," the author gave us an interesting picture of a Hindu maiden's development, in which she probably laid bare her own soul; whilst in "The Fatal Garland" she shows us the self-sacrifice of which an Indian woman is capable. Although imbued with the culture of the West (her father gave her an unusually good education), and most keen on the emancipation of womanhood, yet this distinguished Indian writer remained faithful to the customs of India, and even keeps "purdah" when staying with her Indian relations. It is this Indian spirit, and the native atmosphere which she succeeded in imparting to the tale she narrates, that fascinates us mostly.

The historical background, too, lends a particular charm and interest to this book, in the writing of which we are told that she was greatly encouraged by her husband. It transports us to the fourteenth century, A.D., when Sham-ud-din Elias-Shah, the Mogul Governor of Bengal, proclaimed himself independent of the Emperor of Delhi. The son of the latter, Sekandar-Shah was, on the throne of Bengal when the tale begins; whilst the Raja, Suryadeb, who had helped him to establish his independence, was the chief of Dinajpur. The first chapter opens with two fair young Hindu maidens playing with flowers in the Raja's beautiful garden. Both belong to families of high rank. Presently they are joined by two young married women, who, whilst plucking flowers and weaving them into garlands, bring the conversation on the possible marriage of the Rajkumar, the Raja's son. From the lake a boat comes into sight, with a handsome youth playing the flute. No sooner do the young women hear the sound of the music than they begin to dance, thus welcoming back the Rajkumar. When he steps out of his boat, they challenge him with merry laughter to choose his Queen, as in their play they have made him King; and one of the married ladies present him with a garland of lotus-flowers that the younger of the two young maidens, Nirupama, had woven. The Rajkumar takes the garland and puts it round the neck of Shakti, the older and far more beautiful of the two maidens, whereupon Nirupama, with a sad little face, asks leave to be the handmaid of the Queen.

This charming episode, innocent as it looked, was to have far-reaching consequences; for it was a so-called Gandarba marriage, which, though obsolete now, was recognized as legitimate in olden times. Almost

immediately afterwards Shakti was taken by her father to perform with him a long pilgrimage, which lasted several years, and during which her father died. When at last free, her first endeavour was to approach the man whom she had ever since regarded as her husband. His father having meanwhile died, he now had become Raja. Forgetful of his pledge, and being told by his mother that Shakti had left with her father to get married to some foreign Prince, he married little Nirupama, who was devoted to him ever since her childhood.

Shakti, ignorant of all this, gladly avails herself of an opportunity to approach the young Raja at a tournament given in commemoration of Bengal's triumph over Delhi. Here the author shows great imagination and descriptive power. She narrates how Shakti in costly attire, although modestly hidden by her Indian mantle, throws at the young Raja the garland he had given to her years ago at the moment he won the prize at archery. But as ill-luck would have it, she missed her aim. The garland, with fatal result, is picked up by the Crown Prince of Bengal, who, at the same time, looks at Shakti with admiration. The Raja leaves with his retinue, not heeding the garland. Shakti then steps forward to claim it back. She is followed out by the Crown Prince's eyes as she disappears in the adjoining wood. There she meets the young Raja, who, recognizing her, dismounts and follows her; they walk together to a brook, where they are at last alone. Shakti is the first to speak; she tells him of her devotion and how she always thought of him as her husband since he had given her the very garland with which she tried to make herself remembered to him at the tournament. The Raja is deeply touched, but he has to confess that he has married Nirupama, and that *she* is now the Rani. Shakti remains speechless at first; but then, recovering herself from her terrible disappointment, convinces him that it was she, Shakti, who was his lawful wife, begging him not to forsake her. At this juncture a voice is heard from behind the bushes (for they had been watched) saying "that this is never to be." It was the voice of his mother. Whereupon the Raja, frightened, makes a movement to leave. Shakti, beside herself with rage and grief, rises to disappear in the dark wood, but in going she pronounces a curse on the Raja and his race.

After long wanderings in the dark wood, unprotected and lonely, she at last reaches the Hindu temple where an aunt of hers is a devotee. It is there that she is met by the messengers of the Crown Prince of Bengal, who asks her to become his wife. After a great conflict with herself—for in spite of it all she still loves the Raja—she consents at last, notwithstanding the entreaties of her aunt not to change her Hindu creed.

In the following chapters we see the beautiful Shakti as Sultana of Bengal, arrayed in costly garments and priceless jewellery. Her husband, now Sultan, is devoted to her, but she treats him with little affection. Her little daughter, Gulbahar, is her only solace.

The author now brings a new interest to her novel by describing a war in Bengal and its fateful consequences for Shakti—a war which was waged between the Sultan, her husband, and the Raja whom she never ceased to love. When the Raja is eventually captured and imprisoned in the

subterranean caves of the Sultan's palace, Shakti rises to the situation in resolving to liberate him, whom to the end she considers as her lawful husband. Here we cannot but think of those young widows who ascended the funeral piles to die out of devotion with their dead husbands. It was the immensity of her love which made Shakti give up her young and brilliant life. The author dramatically describes the last scene in the prison when Shakti takes the Raja's place in the cell, and is murdered in his stead by a horrible mistake, whilst he escapes to his country and his people. But Shakti's great soul enters Nirvana, the place of rest and peace.

Viewed through European eyes, we must confess that the young Raja, in spite of his noble feelings and righteousness, does not seem worthy of so much sacrifice on the part of so great and beautiful a woman as Shakti. His conduct to her is not chivalrous. At times he even acts cowardly to her. This would imply that too much womanly devotion, which only too often degenerates into subjugation, as in the case with Asiatic women, does not make heroes. But as we have already pointed out, the tale is typically Indian, and that is its charm.

L. M. R.

INDIAN THOUGHT, PAST AND PRESENT. By R. W. Frazer, LL.B., C.E., I.C.S. (*T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd.*)

A well-illustrated volume of 339 pages, this book contains a good, if slightly opaque, account of the history of Hindu religious ideas. Beginning with the Vedas and their Brahman interpreters, we go on to the Upanishads, or books of secret knowledge. These are said to be held by "orthodox thought in India" (though the expression is a little vague) to be "Divine revelations," but difficult to reconcile as "idealistic, pantheistic, and theistic." Buddhism was the next development, and then, on its decline in India, which is traced here, S'ankara undertook to prove that its doctrines were in opposition to the revelation of Vedic Scriptures, and that in reality all life was illusion, and that only the spiritual exists. Later schools of thought are dwelt on and examined in connection with the Government proposals for a Hindu faculty of theology. This scheme, desirable or not, seems fraught with difficulties when we are told "it would be impossible for anyone to state exactly what is the most universally philosophic thought of India to-day," and when the faith includes (besides the Khrishna story, which may be connected with that of the Christ) the Veda for the S'aivites of South India, with hymns of Sambandhar, a Brahman and a Dravidian saint, who "is traditionally held to have instigated the slaughter of 8,000 Jains by crushing them to death in oil-mills. . . . The memory of Sambandhar is still revered in South India, and his image worshipped in every S'aivite temple." We get to easier and pleasanter matter in an excellent chapter on the history and position of women in India (citing many Muslim *maîtresse-femmes* of great renown and influence), and an account of the modern movements of the Brahma Samaj and the Arya Samaj, both of which are Vedic revivals which have arisen through the influence to some extent (indirect although it may be) of European learning and monotheistic teaching.—A. F. S.

THE NEAR EAST

GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF BALKAN PROBLEMS, IN THEIR RELATION TO THE GREAT EUROPEAN WAR. By Marion I. Newbiggin, D.Sc. (Lond.). With a coloured map of South-Eastern Europe, and sketch-maps. (London: *Constable*.) 7s. 6d. net.

It has, at any rate lately, become almost a commonplace to comment unfavourably upon the knowledge current in England upon the subject of foreign affairs. And we see that this work is no exception to the rule. The author writes in the preface: "We cannot believe that the new Britain which will arise after the war can ever reacquire her former insular indifference to the politics and geography of the Near East." It is, however, to be hoped that the politics and geography of the Balkans will not, after the successful conclusion of this war, be a permanent and anxious field of study, but rather that the Balkan question will be settled for some time to come, on the principles of nationality modified, where necessary, by trade interests.

There are, however, many points in this volume which go a long way to explain the difficulty of attaining that longed-for ideal. Every student of the Near East knows that the ethnological boundaries are so complicated, and the rivals' claims so eager, as to defeat the conciliatory efforts of neutral tribunals. But even if this were possible, the cross-currents of trade routes (chap. vi.) and hydrographic anomalies of the peninsula (chap. v.) make a permanent settlement almost hopeless. Thus, although Northern Albania has little in common, politically, with Serbia, the latter's increasing trade with Italy, and especially her important markets for live-stock in Genoa and Naples, makes her demand, as a geographical necessity, some stretch of the Adriatic coast. The acquisition of Bosnia, justified on racial grounds, would not solve her geographical problem as long as Dalmatia remained in Austrian hands. The second Balkan War secured for her friendly access to the port of Salonica, when her real need was "a window on the Adriatic." Again it is pointed out that the drainage anomalies of Macedonia have also contributed to leaving the proper political status of that unhappy country so uncertain. The chapter dealing with Austrian rule in Bosnia-Herzegovina exposes as a fallacy the conventional view about that country. There has been, in the past, a chorus of praise for Austrian methods. She points out that these travellers, while appreciating the new railways and state-owned hotels, have forgotten to study the real conditions of the natives. It is quite true that in Bosnia the plum and olive, in Herzegovina the tobacco which supplies the Imperial Régie "Trafik," point to increased prosperity. But taxation is heavy; the money raised chiefly goes to military needs; imported farmers from the North get all the advantages. In these respects the Slavs under Serbian rule, who are proprietors of their own soil, and have a national government, are naturally envied by their Bosnian brothers.

The position of Roumania as a Latin island amid Slavs on three sides and Austria on the fourth has, from the diplomatic point of view, always

been disadvantageous. But the successive blunders of her southern neighbour has made her correspondingly ambitious. Presented by the Russians in 1878 with a portion of the Dobrudja, it has indeed been with her a case of *accessorium sequitur principale*. After the second Balkan War she received a further section with Kavarna and Baltchik. It is not impossible that Bulgaria's new blunder will give her an opportunity to realize an even greater dream and secure Rushtchuk and Varna. These claims are based on the necessity of securing the safety of the Bukarest-Constanza Railway, and more particularly the great bridge over the Danube. Of course, as the author points out, her new acquisitions now create a new position, and call for additions to protect *them*. But there, again, the success is only partial, and Roumania's real claim lies in another direction—viz., Transylvania. She is, therefore, in no better straits than Serbia, wanting chiefly an outlet on the Adriatic, which she failed to get at the treaty of Bukarest, Greece ardently desiring a permanency in Southern Albania, or Montenegro, with her eyes on Scutari.

All books written on the political situation in the Balkans during the last few years necessarily become "almost prehistoric" after a short time. The author, by dwelling chiefly on the geographical aspects, has furnished us with something more permanent.

HELLENISM IN ENGLAND. By Theodore Dowling, D.D., and Mr. E. W. Fletcher, F.S.A. Scot. (Published by the *Faith Press*, 22, Buckingham Street, W.C.) 2s. 6d. net.

The introduction to this little work is written by the Greek Minister, M. Joannes Gennadius, and occupies some sixty pages out of the one hundred and sixty that compose the whole.

So learned, and at the same time so interesting, is this preliminary treatise, that it is to be hoped that His Excellency will soon obtain the leisure to carry out his promise of giving a more detailed account of the rise and progress of the Greek community in England. We are all engaged, consciously or unconsciously, in making history, but few can write it so as to be worth the reading. Those who can do so should leave the making to others. He has shown clearly that Greece has maintained more ancient, more historic, more far-reaching and romantic relations with Britain and Ireland than with any other European country—*i.e.*, beyond the Mediterranean, for that sea has ever been ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλασσα of the Hellenes, while Italy has always been regarded, in a way, as *Magna Græcia*.

It will be news to the unlearned that the first scientific explorer of these islands, and the first to give a trustworthy description of them, was a learned Greek astronomer and navigator, one Pytheas. He travelled on foot through Britain, sailed far into the Baltic, visiting the Norwegian coast, Shetland, the Orkneys, and perhaps Iceland. On his return to Marseilles, he made a report which has been lost. We know of it through quotations. Strabo discredited his great predecessor, sad to say, but

recent research proves his right to rank as one of the first of the great navigators of the world.

Greek missionaries introduced Christianity into Britain long before the coming of Saint Augustine, and Greek Christians found their way to Ireland, where they founded churches and schools, so that Christianity was flourishing there as early as 430. Green tells us that the Church of England as we know it to-day, so far as its outer form is concerned, is the work of a Greek monk, Theodore of Tarsus, of whom Bede remarks that he was the first Archbishop whom all the English Churches obeyed; and Bishop Stubbs considers him an important factor in the development of English national life. All these and other vital facts can be gleaned from the introductory treatise which brings home to the reader's mind the debt that England owes to Greece.

The neglect of reference to activities other than those relating to the Church and to commerce somewhat detracts from the interest of the studies that follow the introduction. No account of Greek activities at Oxford can afford to omit all reference to that "unique phenomenon in the Hellenic firmament," the modern Greek review *ἔρευνα*, founded at Oxford in 1901; and why set aside any mention of the Anglo-Hellenic League of London, which numbers so many of the Greek community of the Metropolis amongst its members, as well as the leading English Philhellenes?

The work is enriched with excellent portraits, and a copious index adds considerably to its value.—F. R. SCATCHERD.

NOVELS OF THE AUTUMN SEASON

THE RESEARCH MAGNIFICENT. By H. G. Wells. (*Macmillan and Co*)
6s. net.

Mr. Wells has embodied a most invigorating piece of thinking in this history of William Porphyry Benham, an idealist seeking persistently to grasp and to realize the aristocratic ideal. And he has done so with such balanced regard to the humanity of the idealist and to the logic of the idea, that, from boyhood up to the last moment of Benham's adventurous life, we follow, interested and enlightened. The achievement is even more remarkable in that the integrity and distinction of the idea have been secured by the method of isolating the idealist, of making his "research magnificent" a lonely furrow, which few during his lifetime comprehended, and which, after his death, his fictional biographer and friend, White, was sometimes at a loss to understand. Saving the demands of dramatic narrative, Benham's idealism need not have been so independent, nor, we venture to suggest, so itinerant. But the independence and the itinerance have made "The Research Magnificent" a fine and moving novel, one which in these days, whose events, unless we may prophesy reconstruction from them, overwhelm us with their outward idealism and their inward lack of the same, we shall all of us be the wiser for reading.

During this time of war, which for so many has been a schooling in fearlessness, Mr. Wells's insistence on the conquest of fear as the first step towards a conception of nobler living impresses us with real and most consequential meaning. The war, whatever grim problems of material distress it leaves us with, will at least leave us with courage to face them. The world after the war will be a more courageous world. Nations that have been disciplined to snap their fingers at death will no longer be afraid of hypothetical dangers, fear of which has hitherto supported most of the tyranny of our conventional thinking.

"All of us," wrote Benham, "are restrained by this misfit fear from a thousand bold successful gestures of mind and body: we are held back from the attainment of mighty securities in pitiful temporary shelters that are, perhaps, in the end no better than traps." The account of Benham's adventuring, unarmed, through the Indian jungle by night is magnificent in its seizure of the apparent perils, the real security, and the subsequent placidity and freedom, that came to him before whose determined advance fear had fled. Emancipated from fear, ideas, whether they be called democratic or aristocratic (and the democratic idea is not at variance with the aristocratic idea except in the method whereby nations shall attain to nobility, namely, in granting democracy opportunity to reach it rather than in submitting democracy to a prescription) may lead us, as the idea which Benham pursued, led him—far. That democracy, by the value inherent in the multiplication table, can dispense with the "research magnificent," that the voice of the people is, without more ado, the voice of God, is a conception of democracy which only exists in the minds of its opponents. The true democrat realizes with Benham, as, upon the battlements of La Ferrière, he reflected upon what had sustained the uncontrolled brutal power of that vanished Emperor of Hayti, that "there are kings and tyrannies and imperialisms simply because of the unkingliness of men." It is not, as Benham saw, the pride of the Christophes which perpetuates tyranny, but the subserviency of those fear-driven, trampled men o'er whom the Christophes rule. "It is the orderly people who create tyrants, and it is not so much restraint above as stiff insubordination below that has to be taught to men." Even Benham, with his vision of the "Invisible King, the spirit of nobility, who will one day take the sceptre and rule the earth," came to recognize that the future creation of a better world depended, not upon forces with which humanity must be newly endowed, but upon forces which must be freed. "He believed more and more firmly that the impulses to make and help and subserve great purposes are abundantly present in the world, that they are inhibited by hasty thinking, limited thinking, and bad thinking, and that the real ennoblement of human life was not so much a creation as a release." "Men do not know how to think," he again insisted. . . . "Misconception is the sin and dishonour of the mind, and muddled thinking as ignoble as dirty conduct." It is no longer possible to preserve the domain of thought for the born aristocrat, and the democratic ideal directs the lives of some of us in order to diminish that ignoble and muddled thinking. That the final dismissal of ignobility was very far distant did

not perturb William Porphyry Benham ; his own "loose, large measure of time," "before those constellations above us have changed their shape," is alike sufficient for democratic faith.

We have left uncriticized the dramatic side of the book. It has, of course, bearing upon Benham's ideal adventure. Not that it determined his aim ; that was born in him, and the only indispensable direction which his circumstances gave him was financial provision, which enabled him to go about the world independent of daily necessities. Their further bearing is, in consequence, somewhat loose and arbitrary, and, as a novelist, Mr. Wells has naturally given Benham a wife, Amanda, and a friend, Prothero, whose connections with the idealist are most calculated to display, by contrast, the singular motives of his idealism. Amanda, spirited, vigorous, adventurous, appears to Benham as the ideal companion of his wanderings until he realizes that adventurousness was the limit of their unanimity.

"Amanda loved wild and picturesque things, and Benham strong and clear things : the vines and brushwoods amidst the ruins of Salona that had delighted her had filled him with a sense of tragic retrogression. . . . This coast was no theatrical scenery for him : it was a shattered empire." "That passion to get all things together into one aristocratic aim, that restraint of purpose, that imperative to focus which was the structural essential of Benham's spirit, was altogether foreign to her composition."

And so, perceiving that Amanda would turn all his travels into a jolly holiday, Benham goes on his way alone, and has to suffer the consequences of leaving her, unhusbanded, behind him.

Prothero is the reverse of that "animated discursiveness" which separated Benham from Amanda. His inattention to Benham's ideals was due to a personal obsession which measured all he saw in terms of his own physical needs, and which shaped his philosophy accordingly. "These Big Things of yours," he told Benham, "nobody is thinking of them really." "Everybody is thinking about the New Things that concern himself . . . First of all, food . . . then sex ; and until one is tranquil and not ashamed, not irritated and dissatisfied, how can one care for other people, or for next year or the Order of the World ? How can one, Benham ?"

Benham could ; but that was not so much because he was satisfied, or believed himself to be satisfied, as regards the desires which so feverishly distracted Prothero, but because faith in his research was born in him—because, as he declared to Amanda, his vision was the breath of life to him. Without that inborn faith, attention to the "research magnificent" is not possible either to the Amandas or the Protheros of this world. And in this sense discovery is at present only within sight of the aristocrat, and its realization must remain, even for him, some way beyond the distant mountains.

I. C. W.

GUY AND PAULINE. By Compton Mackenzie. (*Martin Secker.*) 6s. net.

In adventuring into certain apparently catholic, but really exclusive, social gatherings, there is such a thing as being overcome to desolation by the absence of any form of introduction. The all-pervading assumption of the impossibility of anyone's not knowing everyone present intimately and characteristically makes a gulf between the unknowing stranger and the assembled familiars which the former feels can never be crossed without masonic privilege.

I have that sense of depressing distance from the inhabitants of "Guy and Pauline"—Mr. Compton Mackenzie's resumption of one of the threads of the second volume of "Sinister Street." The title even desolates me with its implication of its sufficiency to comprehend all those 384 closely-written pages; and as I pursue the long tale of Guy Hazlewood's love for Pauline Grey, I feel, as I have so often felt in a situation such as that above alluded to, that no amount of listening to that which passes between them will ever make them really known to me.

I know the place they live in. I can see Wychford and Plasher's Mead, and all the surroundings of that prolonged—almost, I think, too prolonged—idyll, just as from an occasion at which one has been an outsider one carries away partial impressions the deeper because they have been incomplete. But them, Guy and Pauline, I cannot see. They are set only in relation to each other, or rather the relationship is even less direct than that, for it is Guy's love for Pauline which is set in relation to Pauline's love for Guy. The lovers themselves in any other context barely exist. And this is not because we are not shown the Grey family or the Hazlewood parent, or glimpses of the previous Oxford life from which Guy has recently emerged; but because, so it seems to me, Mr. Compton Mackenzie's manner of writing is so markedly the manner of a privileged chronicler who has never been faced with the necessity of making his characters interesting independently of the setting in which he first found them attracting him. He seems to me to rely entirely upon the interest which setting alone gives to individuals; he is for ever trying to get character outlines by filling in the background. And his persistence in this method—the way he forces picturesque expressions, such as "white fastness," "the desk full of childish things," which on first using had all the charm of spontaneity, to constant drudgery in the service of this method—becomes ineffective and monotonous, and encourages the impression that the individuals of the story would not be recognizable away from their particular and idyllic surroundings. Because of this barrier to realization of personality, the actual dramatic current of the story runs dully and, rather like an empty train, purposelessly. It does not carry the idyll forward, it leaves it stranded behind. And, consequently, the reader contemplates its destination with much the same vagueness as Mrs. Grey considered the actual journey of Pauline—"Lyme Regis, perhaps . . . or Cromer. . . . Lyme Regis, I think, because the trains to Folkestone have been torn out."

Mr. Compton Mackenzie's language is, as usual, choice and, where his

choice of words is less conspicuous, singularly beautiful—the whole æsthetic effect contributing to my wonder that so many exquisite pages should leave me so unsatisfied.

I. C. W.

VICTORY. By Joseph Conrad. (*Methuen and Co., Ltd.*) 6s. net.

Admirers of Mr. Conrad scarcely need the warning which he gives them in the preface to this, his latest, and we think his finest, novel, that the victory here dealt with has nothing to do with the war. Like the actual stage of so many of his stories—the Malay Archipelago—which still has all those elements of distance and unfamiliarity so favourable to the novel of adventure—the field of conflicts to which Mr. Conrad's attention is devoted is one to which many of us are still foreigners—namely, the territory of the human soul. "The word Victory, the shining and tragic goal of human effort," is not demeaned, all who read the book will feel, by its application to that, for the time being, unfashionable wilderness, but is lifted into a more real significance than any which attaches to its use in the Temple of Janus; and, as spectators of Lena's supreme and eternal triumph, we are made more conscious of the unreality of that goal to which the eyes of nearly all Europe are set.

In outward action and in inward motive, the story of "Victory" is a strange one. Heyst, a Swedish baron, whose sceptical and negative attitude towards life, inculcated in him by his dead father, has made him easily acquiescent in the turn of Fortune's wheel, which comes to a standstill in the deserted island of Samburan, is drawn into unconscious combat with the low, brutal, and vindictive Teuton, Schomberg, an hotel-keeper on the mainland, the victim of whose unsatisfied lust he has protected. Into this duel, originating before the cause of its intenser provocation, Lena, appeared on the scene, in the inbred malignity of Schomberg's nature, there advance as active but differently motivated assistants two of the most villainous and blood-curdling adventurers we have ever yet set eyes on. Ignorant of the piratical fauna of the South Seas, we are tempted to criticize Mr. Jones and his minion, Ricardo, as too elaborately devilish to be real; but from the imaginative point of view, the emphasis upon their positive villainy may be a necessary counterpoise to the fixed negation and temperamental aloofness of Heyst's attitude. It is the girl, Lena, once a member of a travelling orchestra, and performing at Schomberg's hotel at the time of Heyst's meeting her and of her rescue by him, who is the pivot of the story and the mainspring and chime itself of the last tragic but triumphant suspension of hostilities.

Never have Mr. Conrad's seizure of the inevitable, his apprehension of what in life separates fancies from facts, and in death unites them, been spent in the delivery of so clear and beautiful a message as in "Victory."

I. C. W.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara. By A. Foucher Desh. Translated by H. Hargreaves. (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1915.) 3s. 3d.

As is explained by the translator in a preface, the above has appeared in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême Orient* as far back as October, 1901, but the recent excavations at Pushkaravati by Sir John Marshall and Dr. Vogel, and those of Dr. D. B. Spooner at the Kanisha Chaitya, have given occasion for its reappearance in English. The itinerary followed by Dr. Foucher was largely that of Hinan-Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who has been aptly described as the "Pausanias of the Indianists," and who made the journey about 1,250 years ago. It is explained that one of his greatest services was to fix clearly for his time the main stages of the journey from the Khyber Pass to the Indus—viz., Purushapura, Pushkarāvati, Pohesha, and Udabhānda. It is also made clear that the narrow gorge at Attock was marked out for a route already at the time of Akbar. This had the effect of definitely diverting the route north, which was thus ruined. A small error may be pointed out in the second footnote on p. 31, where the name of Prof. Chavannes is misspelt.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
(Frontier Circle for the year 1914-15).

This Report is compiled for the current year by V. Natesa Aiyar, who is the successor of Khan Sahib Mian Wasi-ud-din. It states that owing to the war practical measures of conversation decided upon in 1912, with regard to the ruins at Bilot Kafirkot, where the remains of a fortress as well as several Hindu temples of a type unknown on the frontier had been discovered, were to be postponed. The exploration of the ancient city of Taxila was continued, and a more detailed description is appended of the work done on the site of Sirsukh. The attendance at the Museum of Peshawar continues to increase. An appendix gives the full list of coins acquired, as well as the gifts of J. L. Maffey, Esq., I.C.S. (a stone slab inscribed in Sarada characters), of Major Lyall, I.A. (a brass seal bearing a Cufic inscription), and the Hon. Lieut.-Colonel Sir George Roos-Kepel (a collection of fossils).

CURRENT PERIODICALS

In an article contributed to the September number of the *Indian Review*, and entitled, "India and the World: How we can Help," the Hon. M. de P. Webb, C.I.E., states:

"How, then, can we help? The reply seems obvious. India can volunteer to contribute money and tools towards the maintenance of the armies she has put in the field in the different parts of the Empire. India can take her stand, shoulder to shoulder with Canada, Australia, New Zealand,

and others, by raising her own War Loan from her own peoples. The terms upon which such a loan could be floated would be a matter of arrangement by the Finance Department of the Government of India, but they would be appropriate to, and in accordance with, Indian conditions and Indian practices. Certain it is that every patriotic Indian would be glad to help to the utmost of his ability by contributing to India's National War Loan."

Harold Hamel Smith (editor of *Tropical Life*) writes as follows in the current issue of the *Anglo-Russian Review* :

"Once peace is declared, we can expect an ever-increasing demand for English goods from an invigorated Russia and a re-united, revived Poland ; then, too, their great trade centres will be able to supply us with oil, beet-sugar, wheat, and the other cereals that hitherto we have imported from Germany and Austria ; also with flax, linseed, hides, timber, hemp, tallow, lumber, wood-pulp, and the host of other agricultural products which we must always import, as we have neither the time nor the land space to produce all we require.

"It is far easier to realize in one's mind than to estimate on paper what this increased trade, coupled with cheaper food, will mean to everyone, but especially to the middle and lower middle classes of the United Kingdom. May we very soon be in a position to secure these blessings ! The *Anglo-Russian Review* hopes to take an active share in helping us to attain them by promoting an intimate acquaintance between the Russian and Anglo-Saxon peoples ; by persuading each to take such an interest in the other that an interchange of visits will take place ; and by building such a foundation of mutual appreciation and confidence between the countries that the populaces of London, Liverpool, and Manchester, etc., will want to know Petrograd, Moscow, Warsaw, and Odessa, as well as they now know Paris, Havre, New York, Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco."

LORD HARDINGE AND HOME RULE.

Last week His Excellency the Viceroy was entertained at dinner by the members of the Simla United Service Club, and in replying to the toast of his health, which was proposed by General Bunbury, Adjutant-General, who is President of the Club, Lord Hardinge delivered an eloquent speech, highly eulogizing the services which are ungrudgingly rendered by the civil and military officers, as well as by the officers of the various other departments under the Imperial and the Provincial Governments. This is the *mamooli* practice, and calls for no comment. Lord Hardinge specially dwelt upon the suppression of the disorders which broke out last spring in the Punjab, and the preservation of the inviolability of the North-Western Frontier, notwithstanding repeated incursions by unruly tribesmen, and singled out for commendation the names of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and Sir George Roos Keppel, Chief Commissioner of the North-Western Frontier Province. There is, however, one portion of the Viceregal oration which possesses a

special interest for the people of India. Here Lord Hardinge dipped into the future, and drew a forecast of the political progress which India is destined to achieve as the years roll on. We make no apology for reproducing here those eloquent passages : " England has instilled into this country the culture and civilization of the West, with all its ideals of liberty and self-respect. It is not enough for her now to consider only the material outlook of India. It is necessary for her to cherish the aspirations of which she has herself sown the seed, and the English officials are gradually awakening to the fact that, high as were the aims and remarkable the achievements of their predecessors, a still nobler task lies before them in the present and the future in guiding the uncertain and faltering steps of Indian development along sure and safe paths. The new rôle of guide, philosopher, and friend, is opening before you, and it is worthy of your greatest efforts. It requires in you gifts of imagination and sympathy, and imposes upon you self-sacrifice, for it means that slowly but surely you must divest yourselves of some of the power you have hitherto wielded. Let it be realized that, great as has been England's mission in the past, she has a far more glorious task to fulfil in the future in encouraging and guiding the political self-development of the people. The goal to which India may attain is still distant, and there may be many vicissitudes in her path ; but I look forward with confidence to a time when, strengthened by character and self-respect, and bound by ties of affection and gratitude, India may be regarded as a true friend of the Empire, and not merely as a trusty dependant. The day for the complete fulfilment of this ideal is not yet, but it is to this distant vista that the British official should turn his eyes, and he must grasp the fact that it is by his future success in this direction that British prestige and efficiency will be judged." These be noble and statesman-like utterances, and their tone and tenor recalls the memorable speech delivered by the late Sir Edward Baker shortly after the introduction of the Minto-Morley reforms, in which he appealed to the present generation of officials to adapt themselves to their changing environments, and to work with the people, and not merely for the people. But if the speech is read between the lines, it will be found that Lord Hardinge has practically committed himself to—nothing. The goal, His Excellency says, is a "distant" one, and this little bit of straight talk ought to have a sobering effect upon the enthusiasm of those "impatient idealists" who are so anxious to tempt the fate of Phæton, and sit in the chariot of the sun. It is to be hoped that after this Viceregal declaration there will be a truce to that mischievous and most inopportune talk about Home Rule being granted to India as the first-fruit of the conclusion of the war. Lord Hardinge's speech holds out no hope whatever that this fond dream of our political stalwarts is likely to be realized—at any rate, within the life-time of the present generation. We are thankful to Lord Hardinge for having disillusionized the Indian Home Rulers. We all know that Home Rule will no doubt come some day, as Lord Macaulay had anticipated early last century, but the conclusion of the war will not appreciably hasten its arrival. We have to make ourselves fit for Home Rule before we can expect to get it. All this premature talk about Home

Rule therefore serves no other purpose than to fill the minds of the unthinking portion of the community with aspirations which cannot be fulfilled for some time to come, and the non-fulfilment of those aspirations must necessarily cause disappointment and thereby breed discontent. We are relieved to learn that Mrs. Besant has left Calcutta. We could have gladly foregone her lectures on Home Rule.—*The Hindoo Patriot*, October 18, 1915.

We quote from *India* (October 29) the following messages of appreciation of the life and work of Sir Henry Cotton :

MR. C. E. BUCKLAND, C.I.E.

Few Indian officials are likely to be remembered in the Provinces wherein they served longer than Henry Cotton. He was always a prominent personality ; he had the courage of his opinions to a marked degree, a genial manner, an affectionate disposition, a warm heart. A Radical by nature, he was an enthusiast in asserting his principles. It was believed that he carried a standard in one of Edmund Beale's Reform League processions in 1866, before he was twenty-one.

He came early to the front in his official career in Bengal. The Lieutenant-Governors, Sir George Campbell and Sir Richard Temple, have recorded their high praises of his work and his remarkable promise. Sir Steuart Bayley brought him back to the Secretariat, and he was Chief Secretary to Sir Charles Elliott for four years. As Revenue and General Secretary, I was his colleague in constant and intimate communication. He was then at the zenith of his power and reputation, and had the full confidence of the Civil Service. In replying to the toast of the Service at a Darjeeling dinner in 1894, he called upon its members to adapt themselves to the altering conditions of the times, and to bridge over the transition without friction. He dwelt (not to unwilling ears) upon the importance of sympathy with, and affection for, the people—the principles which actuated him personally. I remember the quotation with which he concluded, to the delight of his hearers :

"Tho' much is taken, much abides, and tho'
We are not now that strength which in old days
Moved earth and heaven : that which we are, we are
One equal temper of heroic hearts,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

THE RIGHT HON. AMEER ALI.

My long friendship with Sir Henry Cotton, extending over nearly forty years, entitles me to say a few words in honour of his memory. He was a true friend of India ; and though he and I differed a good deal on many points, I always respected the sincerity of his devotion to the interests of the country where he had spent the best years of his life. His death is a real loss to India, and will be mourned as such by his many friends there.

SIR KRISHNA GUPTA, K.C.S.I.

(Late Member of the Council of India).

By the death of Sir Henry Cotton, India has lost one of her truest and most steadfast friends. Nearly half a century ago he went out to Bengal in the Indian Civil Service, and showed early signs of a bright and successful career. His literary and other gifts soon marked him out for Secretariat employment, in which he spent the greater part of his service. His sterling independence, open candour, and never-failing geniality, endeared him to all, and I do not know of any Chief Secretary in Bengal who enjoyed greater popularity—not only with the Indians, but also with the members of his own Service.

His tender heart always felt for the weak and the oppressed, and he made no secret of his sympathy with the wishes and aspirations of educated India. Many years ago, on a notable occasion when the Calcutta Municipality was on its trial, he, with his staunch friend, the late Sir Henry Harrison, stood up as the champion of Municipal Self-Government. His abhorrence of indentured labour was well known, and when, as Chief Commissioner of Assam, he endeavoured to alleviate some of its worst incidents, he incurred the unpopularity of the tea-planters, but the triumph of his policy has at last come in the total abolition of the system.

After his retirement from India, he continued to work for the country of his adoption as an active member of the London Congress Committee, and in Parliament he was a warm advocate of all Indian interests. Some of us could have wished that he had adopted a different attitude towards Lord Morley, and shown a greater appreciation of the difficulties that beset the path of that great statesman and benefactor of India; but he keenly resented the partition of Bengal, and strongly disapproved of some of the methods that were employed to put down the widespread opposition to which that ill-starred measure gave rise.

Henry Cotton has gone to his rest. For five generations his family has been connected with India, and throughout his life he evinced the deepest attachment to the country, and his memory will ever be lovingly cherished by its grateful people.

In the current number of the *Bulletin of the Imperial Institute* Uganda is mentioned as one of the British possessions where cocoa may now be planted with a reasonable certainty of being remunerative. A sample from the Government plantation at Kampala has been examined and approved at the Imperial Institute, and has met with a good reception from manufacturers and brokers in this country. There seems every reason, therefore, why Uganda cocoa should be readily saleable in the United Kingdom at a good price. It is much to be regretted, in view of the present urgent necessity for limiting the imports of manufactured goods, that large quantities of cocoa grown in British Colonies should go to foreign countries to be exported thence to the United Kingdom in the form of chocolate, nor is it apparent why the chocolate now imported cannot be manufactured in this country.

In a Supplement to the *Athenæum* (London), October 2, Ananda Coomaraswamy writes as follows :

"Each race must contribute something essential to the world's civilization in the course of its own self-expression and self-realization. The character built up in solving its own problems, in the experience of its own happiness and of its own misfortunes, is itself a gift which each race offers to the world. The essential contribution of India, then, is simply her Indianness ; her greatest humiliation would be to substitute or to have substituted for this own character (*sva-bhāva*) a cosmopolitan veneer, for then she must come before the world empty-handed."

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Waqay'a" (Incidents), by Na'mat Khan-i-Ali. Edited by Otto Rothfeld, B.A. (Oxon), F.R.G.S. Calcutta : Published by the Board of Examiners, under the authority of the Government of India, 1915.—"The Caliph's Last Heritage," by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Mark Sykes. Macmillan and Co.; 20s. net.—"The Making of British India," by Ramsay Muir. Manchester University Press ; 6s. net.—"Religion and Dharma," by Sister Nivedita. Longmans, Green and Co.; 2s. 6d. net.—"Adoration and Other Poems," by Charlotte and Reginald Salwey. Illustrated by Jasper Salwey, A.R.I.B.A. Heath, Cranton and Ouseley ; 2s. net.

PERIODICALS RECEIVED

"United Empire," "Current Opinion," "Public Opinion," "The Madras Mail," "The Saturday Review," "The Near East," "Review of Reviews," "Hindustan Review," "The Pioneer," "The Indian Review," "The Leader," "The Modern Review," "The Indian Emigrant," "Indische Gids," "Ararat," "The Moslem World," "La Revue," "La Revue Politique Internationale," "The Canadian Gazette," "The Philomath," "Twentieth-Century Russia and Anglo-Russian Review," "The Mysore Economic Journal," "The Bombay Gazette," "The Journal of the United Service Institution of India," "The Harvest Field" (Mysore), "The Bulletin of the Imperial Institute" (London).

We beg to state that in the article entitled "The Japanese Soldier," by Mrs. Salwey, the following printer's errors have occurred :

- Page 150, line 21, *for marks read masks.*
- Page 151, lines 7 and 13, *for Damno read Daimio.*
- Page 153, line 9, *for adieus read adieux.*
- Page 154, line 19, *for Shunonoseki read Shimonoseki.*
- Page 155, line 26, *for as read when.*
- Page 155, line 20, *for jujutsu read ju-jitsu.*
- Page 156, line 32, *for chided read reproved.*

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA FROM A PRACTICAL POINT OF VIEW

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

DEAR SIR,

I take it for granted that the ultimate object of every enlightened thinker is to educate the people of India in such a way as to make them fit for some form of (at least local) self-government approximating to the Colonial system. "Every reasonable man," as one of our modern pundits in the Press so often says (meaning, of course, that anyone who does not agree with him is not a reasonable man), must agree with Sir Thomas Munro that it is "impossible" (or, as we say now, "unthinkable") to govern a country like India for ever from the outside, and that it must, sooner or later, be taught to govern itself.

Now, it is impossible for the people of India, or any other country, to learn the art of government without practice; and the only reasonable question is, How are they to get that practice?

We have taught what is often called "a microscopic minority" to become one of the finest subordinate services in the world; but we have done very little so far, except incidentally, as in the quasi-independent Indian States, to teach them the art of governing others, except, again, in a very subordinate way. How, then, did we ourselves learn the art of self-government, so far as we have learnt it? Chiefly, it must be confessed, by fighting amongst

ourselves for hundreds of years. But we cannot afford to let the millions of India learn the art of self-government by cutting each other's throats and the survival of the fittest. Nor is it necessary. "All great statesmen," says Gustave le Bon, "of every country, including the most absolute despots, have regarded popular imagination as the basis of their power, and have never governed in opposition to it." "It was by becoming a Catholic," said Napoleon, "that I terminated the Vendean War; by becoming a Musalman that I obtained a footing in Egypt; by becoming an Ultramontane that I won over the Italian priests; and had I to govern a nation of Jews I would rebuild Solomon's Temple" (*East and West*, June, p. 531).

"It is only by becoming the friends of the people that the Government of India can guide public opinion and lead it into fruitful channels. If the officials show no friendliness in expressing their views on subjects which engage the minds of the people, and become dear to them, they cannot expect to win the love and devotion of the people" (*Ibid.*, p. 532).

This is "no new policy. Akbar instituted it, and left a mighty Empire behind him; Aurangzib departed from it and brought that Empire to ruin" (*Ibid.*, p. 534).

"The only method which can bring strength to the Government is to associate the people with the Government of the country. This has been the policy of both Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge. The wisdom of a generous concession at a proper time in South Africa has proved itself in the present crisis" (*ibid.*, p. 535), as it proved itself many years ago in Canada.

All that points to "decentralization." What the Hindu, perhaps more than any other man, wants is a local God, but one made of flesh and blood, within easy reach of his village, to whom he can go with his grievances; not a distant Board, or Court of Star Chamber, with a cold-blooded secretary instead of a human soul. A great many

years ago, when I was a very subordinate official, I made a note which I have just unearthed, to the effect that the "Madras Presidency was reduced to one dead level of mediocrity by the influence of the Board of Revenue alone"; and the only practicable remedy I have come across in my career is that originally suggested by Mr. Donald Smeaton, C.S.I., so far back as 1904, which, so far as I know, was to all intents and purposes stillborn. His idea was to group our present districts so as to form small provinces, and put them under selected "Indian" Governors with Councils as in Mysore, "under" (say, rather, "advised by") British Residents; but that sort of Government is, I think, even yet in advance of the times, if only, as Sir John Hewett observed, because there is probably not yet a sufficient supply of "Indians" qualified to act as Governors of even such small provinces. It has always seemed to me that the obvious way to begin the reform is by associating a European official on equal terms with an Indian, and putting them in charge of two or three of our present districts, with powers equivalent to those of the Board of Revenue in Madras. In those far distant days, nearly fifty years ago, I find I was in favour of merely raising the Collector-Magistrate to the dignity of a Commissioner with ampler powers—much as Lord Curzon (for the opposite reason) now advocates Commissioners in place of Governors or Lieutenant-Governors, in order to reduce their powers and bring them more completely under the control of the Central Government. But times have changed. Nearly thirty years have elapsed since Lord Ripon introduced (very tentatively) "the principle of local self-government, in the hope that it might prove the stepping-stone towards the attainment of national self-government in the higher administration of the country. But," continues Mr. Ambica Charan Mazumdar, in his paper on "The Success of the Congress" (*Indian Review* for May), "within that period" (a full generation) "the institution has not advanced one step forward."

We are too apt to forget the services of the many loyal Indians who have helped to found the Indian Empire as it is. Which of us nowadays remember the story of Peary Mohan Banerji of Uttarpara, "The Fighting Munsiff," whose name, as the *Hindu Patriot* says, "should always be mentioned with respect"? The official report of his services in the Mutiny, by the District Magistrate of Allahabad (Mr. Thompson), runs as follows :

"Babu Peary Mohan was appointed a Munsiff at Manjhanpur in this district in November last, and has since been indefatigable in his exertions to drive back the rebels in his part of the district. Though not actually in his province of duty, he offered himself to the Commissioner to assemble the well-affected Zamindars, to engage and conciliate the doubtful, and thus create a Government party against the disaffected. He has succeeded so well that he has been able gradually to restore the police authority in all but a few villages now held by the rebels, and gained a victory, his report of which I now enclose."

A writer in the *Calcutta Review* gave the following particulars of his career :

"The native Civil Judge—a Bengali—by capacity and valour brought himself so conspicuously forward as to be known as "The Fighting Munsiff." He not only held his own defiantly, but he planned attacks, burned villages, wrote English despatches thanking his subordinates and displayed a rare capacity for rule and fertility of resources."

It was Lord Canning who in his despatch highly commended the gallantry of Peary Babu and first called him "The Fighting Munsiff."

Yours, etc.,

J. B. PENNINGTON.

3, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

MR. CECIL HENRY WALSH, K.C., is appointed by the Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in India to act as Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Allahabad, pending the occurrence of a vacancy for a permanent appointment.

The Secretary of State for India has appointed Mr. George H. Collier to be Director-General of Stores at the India Office in succession to Mr. H. J. W. Fry, C.I.E. (retired), and Mr. Richard R. Howlett to be Deputy Director-General of Stores in succession to Mr. Collier.

The Secretary of State for India has made the following appointments to the Indian Educational Service :

Miss Marea Vaughan Irons to be Inspectress of Schools in Bengal ;

Miss Georgina Campbell McCormick to be Lady Professor at the Government College for Women, Madras ; and

Mr. Frank Belworthy Whitmore, B.A. (Oxon), to be Headmaster of the Government High School, Patna ;

Miss Pauline Elizabeth Aimée Fisher has been appointed by the Secretary of State to be Headmistress of the Dow Hill Girls' School at Kurseong, Bengal.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Tiruchendurai Vaidyanatha Seshagiri Ayyar to be a

Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Madras, in the vacancy caused by the appointment of Sir C. Sankaran Nair, to be a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. H. A. Cooper, Assistant to the Auditor at the India Office, to be Auditor in succession to the late Mr. H. W. Harding.

HONOURS LIST.

29th October, 1915.

HONOURS AND REWARDS FOR SERVICE IN MESOPOTAMIA:

The King has been graciously pleased to approve the appointment of General Sir John Eccles Nixon, K.C.B., Indian Army, to be an Aide-de-Camp General to his Majesty.

THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH.

The King has been graciously pleased to give orders for the following promotions in, and appointments to, the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, for distinguished service in the Field in Mesopotamia :—

*To be Additional Members of the Military Division of the
Second Class, or Knights Commanders, of the said Most
Honourable Order :*

Major-General Charles John Mellis, V.C., C.B., Indian Army.

Major-General George Frederick Gorringe, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Indian Army.

To be Additional Members of the Military Division of the Third Class, or Companions, of the said Most Honourable Order :

Colonel (temporary Brigadier-General) Richard Narrien Gamble, D.S.O.

Colonel Patrick Hehir, M.D., F.R.C.S., Indian Medical Service.

Colonel Asher Williamson Evans, Royal Engineers.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Hennessy, M.B., Royal Army Medical Corps.

THE MOST EXALTED ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA.

The King has been graciously pleased to make the following appointment to and the following promotion in the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India for distinguished service in connection with the military operations in Mesopotamia :

To be Additional Members of the Second Class, or Knights Commanders of the said Most Exalted Order :

Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Arnold Barrett, K.C.B., K.C.V.O.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Percy Zachariah Cox, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

The King has been graciously pleased to confer the under-mentioned rewards for meritorious service in the Field in Mesopotamia :

To be Major-General :

Colonel (temporary Brigadier-General) W. S. Delamain, C.B., D.S.O., Indian Army.

To be Brevet-Colonels :

Lieutenant-Colonel A. S. R. Annesley, Supply and Transport Corps.

Lieutenant-Colonel W. W. Chitty, 119th Infantry (The Mooltan Regiment).

Lieutenant-Colonel E. S. Cleeve, Royal Field Artillery.

Lieutenant-Colonel C. B. L. Clery, 104th Wellesley's Rifles.

Lieutenant-Colonel S. H. Climo, D.S.O., 24th Punjabis.

Lieutenant-Colonel H. L. D. Fordyce, Supply and Transport Corps.

Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. N. Harward, 48th Pioneers.

Lieutenant-Colonel R. P. Molesworth, Royal Garrison Artillery.

Lieutenant-Colonel E. C. Peebles, D.S.O., 2nd Battalion, The Norfolk Regiment.

To be Brevet Lieutenant-Colonels :

Major H. A. Holdich, 2nd Battalion, 5th Gurkha Rifles (Frontier Force).

Major C. C. R. Murphy, 30th Punjabis.

Major (temporary Lieutenant-Colonel) G. A. F. Sanders, Royal Engineers.

To be Brevet-Majors :

Captain F. Booth, The King's Own (Royal Lancaster Regiment), attached 34th (Divisional Signal) Company Sappers and Miners.

Captain E. G. J. Byrne, 104th Wellesley's Rifles.

Captain R. E. Wright, M.B., Indian Medical Service.

To be Companions of the Distinguished Service Order :

Commander Anthony Hamilton, Royal Indian Marine.

Major Henry Arthur Bransbury, Royal Army Medical Corps.

Major (temporary Lieutenant-Colonel) Leslie Herbert Queripel, Royal Field Artillery.

Lieutenant Richard Hassall Sheepshanks, 12th Cavalry.

Awarded the Military Cross :

Captain Edward Bruce Allnutt, Royal Army Medical Corps.

Captain William Burgess Benton, 105th Mahratta Light Infantry.

Captain Murray George Gunning Campbell, Royal Engineers.

Captain Kenneth Edward Cooper, 110th Mahratta Light Infantry.

Captain William Morgan Hunt, Royal Garrison Artillery, attached 23rd Peshawar Mountain Battery (Frontier Force).

Captain Aubrey Francis Vincent Jarrett, Royal Garrison Artillery, attached 23rd Peshawar Mountain Battery (Frontier Force).

Captain Charles Aubrey Pogson, 117th Mahrattas.

Captain Henry Cave West, Royal Horse Artillery.

Captain Arthur Wilfred White, 117th Mahrattas.

Captain Alister Ralph Thomson, 7th Duke of Connaught's Own Rajputs.

Lieutenant Humphrey John Baillie, 2nd Battalion, The Dorsetshire Regiment.

Lieutenant Richard Henry Dewing, Royal Engineers.

Lieutenant Malcolm Eccles, 119th Infantry (The Mooltan Regiment).

Lieutenant (temporary Captain) Harcourt Sutcliffe Farebrother, 2nd Battalion, The Norfolk Regiment.

Lieutenant Alec Bryan Matthews, Royal Engineers.

Lieutenant Eric Lechmere Stephenson, 2nd Battalion, The Dorsetshire Regiment.

Lieutenant Narayan Krishna Bal, Indian Medical Service.

Jemadar Dattajirao Khanvilkar, 110th Mahratta Light Infantry.

Jemadar Sitaram Sellar, 117th Mahrattas.

Jemadar Sohan Singh, 24th Punjabis.

HONOURS AND REWARDS FOR SERVICE IN INDIA.

THE MOST EMINENT ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

The King has been graciously pleased to make the following appointment to the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire for meritorious service in the Field on the North-West Frontier of India :

To be an Additional Member of the Third Class, or Companion of the said Most Eminent Order :

Colonel (temporary Brigadier-General) Vere Bonamy Fane, C.B.

The King has been graciously pleased to confer the under-mentioned rewards for meritorious service in the Field on the North-West Frontier of India :

To be Brevet-Colonels :

Lieutenant-Colonel G. M. Baldwin, D.S.O., 25th Cavalry (Frontier Force).

Lieutenant-Colonel H. E. Lowis, 10th Jats.

To be a Companion of the Distinguished Service Order .

Major Gerald Bassett Scott, 27th Punjabis.

The King has been graciously pleased to confer the undermentioned reward for meritorious service at Perim :

To be Brevet-Major :

Captain F. C. Bannatyne, 109th Infantry.

LONDON THEATRES

Savoy Theatre—"The Case of Lady Camber," by H. A. Vachell.

That a good doctor must also be a good detective, and that the psychology of the patient's entourage must be at least as important to him as the physiological status of his charge, had not occurred to us before we saw "The Case of Lady Camber."

Dr. Napier is called in to cure the one-time musical-comedy queen, now wife of Lord Camber, from a malady which had baffled the skill of his colleague, Sir Bedford Slufter. His prescription, after a brief examination, is the removal of the lady from her house in Grosvenor Square to his own rooms in Brook Street. As a special favour she is allowed to bring her maid "Peach," who is very attached to her, and at the same time very jealous. Miss Yorke, who is Dr. Napier's nurse in attendance, admires her employer quite enormously, and enjoys nothing better than working with him in his laboratory. This, however, was not her first experience, as she had previously lit a fire with Lord Camber himself, and when the latter perforce comes to the doctor's house, they meet and survey the ashes together. For her they were quite cold, but he stirs them into a glow; and when his wife, prompted by Peach, rings him up and mimics the voice of the nurse, then—well, there is trouble. The "patient" faints and is carried out without again appearing on the stage, not, however, before Dr. Napier, the doctor-detective (H. B. Irving at his best), has his suspicions strongly aroused. He looks beyond the case of Lady Camber, and sees vistas of his promising career as a doctor shattered by some strange influence. Such a catastrophe must be avoided at all costs by searching enquiry. But Peach has been bribed by the lord, Miss Yorke is herself in the dark, and Camber himself is the last to disclose what he has every interest to hide.

The doctor orders injections to be administered to his patient; but while the latter is upstairs in a state of coma he thinks fit to shadow the nurse, who in despair takes a phial of secret poison from the medicine-chest. The revelations of Peach add to his suspicions, and when he hears through the speaking-tube that his patient has expired, the nurse falls in a faint on the floor.

Next morning the tangle is finally unravelled, and after a brief scene the

lord quits the field and Miss Yorke pledges her heart to the doctor, who thus finds a recompense for his professional debacle.

Mr. H. B. Irving, as the doctor-detective, had a part which altogether suited him, but we could not help thinking that his place was rather at the bedside of his expiring patient than in the library below ranting at her husband. This was, however, only a minor blemish in a very well-constructed play. All the other characters were adequately rendered, Miss Jessie Winter as the nurse calling, perhaps, for special mention.

The Kingsway Theatre—"Iris Intervenes."

Mr. Turner has succeeded in writing a play which depends for its interest, not on its inherent value, but on the degree of its relationship to the work of Mr. Bernard Shaw. But it seemed to us that, whereas the characters are truly "Shavian" when taken singly, the conglomerate whole, in the various settings given them by the action of the play, did not in the remotest degree remind us of the great playwright. Iris, who represents Bohemia in clash with Mr. Cumber of Suburbia, is in her negative qualities of lack of shame and lack of respect for the feelings of others, an entirely Shavian figure; but the victory of Suburbia seemed to us too manifestly playing up to the gallery to be even plausible, let alone in keeping with Mr. Shaw's more subtle respect for his audience. Miss Lena Ashwell, as the Russian adventuress who represents Bohemia, did not seem to us very convincing, but that was, perhaps, because we had grown accustomed to Lydia Yavorshka in "Anna Karenina," and, being insular, accept the first impression as being final. Without the splendid acting of Mr. A. E. George as Mr. Cumber, we doubt whether the play would have pleased us. But he seemed to carry the whole weight on his shoulders.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

("ASIATIC REVIEW" CALENDAR)

Monday, November 15. East India Association. Caxton Hall. Saint Nihal Singh on "Indian Rajas and the British Raj." 4 p.m.

Monday, November 15. Royal Geographical Society. The President, Sir Douglas Freshfield on "The Southern Frontiers of Austria." The Theatre, Burlington Gardens. 8.30 p.m.

Friday, November 19. London Brahmo Somaj. Celebration of the Birthday Anniversary of Brahmananda Keshub Chunder, sen. 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington. Tea 4.30 p.m.; addresses 5 p.m.

Friday, November 19. Oriental Circle, Lyceum Club, 128, Piccadilly. "At Home." Mrs. Emmanuel will speak on "Glimpses into Indian Home Life by an Outsider." Tea 4 p.m.; lecture 4.30 p.m.

Saturday, November 20. National Indian Association. Visit to London Museum, Lancaster House, St. James's, S.W. 2 p.m. Send names to Hon. Sec., 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington.

Friday, November 26. Recital of Indian Songs, (Classic Rajas and Kashmiri Folk Songs). Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy will speak on "Indian Music." Eugene Goossens, jun., solo violin. Æolian Hall. 8 p.m.

Tuesday, December 7. Anglo-Russian Literary Society. Imperial Institute. Lecture by Mr. Stephen Graham. 3 p.m.

Monday, December 13. Royal Geographical Society. Colonel Sir Thomas H. Holdich on "The Work of the Peru-Bolivia Boundary Commission." The Theatre, Burlington Gardens. 8.30 p.m.

Tuesday, December 14. Royal Asiatic Society. 22, Albemarle Street, W. Sir Charles Lyall on "Some Experiments in adapting Arabic Metrical Forms to English Verse." 4 p.m.

University of London. London School of Economics and Political Science' Clare Market, Kingsway, W.C. Public Lectures on Recent History, with Special Bearing on the War. Admission free by ticket, to be obtained on application to the Secretary.

"The Rights and Duties of the State." Six lectures by Professor Hobhouse, on Thursdays, at 5 p.m., beginning October 28.

"International Law as Affected by the War." Two lectures by Professor Sir John Macdonell, on Thursdays, at 5.30 p.m., beginning November 25.

"Austria-Hungary and the Southern Slavs." Four lectures by Dr. Seton-Watson, on Mondays, at 5 p.m., beginning October 25.

"Poland, Bohemia, Alsace-Lorraine." Three lectures by Mr. G. P. Gooch, M.A., on Mondays, at 5 p.m., beginning November 22.

University Extension Lectures. Stephen Graham, Esq., on "Russia." Jehanghir Hall, University of London, S.W. 3.15 p.m. Thursdays: November 18, "The Significance of Orthodoxy"; November 25, "Tolstoy and his Teaching"; December 2, "The Modern Movement in Russia."

